

FALSE IMAGES:

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ART FORGERY

EWAN MACLEAN

For the Degree of Ph.D
University of Edinburgh
1990



In accordance with General Regulation 3.4.7, I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, and that the work is my own.

EWAN MACLEAN

ABSTRACT OF THESIS (Regulation 7.9)

This thesis considers the history of art forgery in the Western world and the social conditions which produce the practice. The main concentration is on paintings and sculpture, but other areas, including 'antiques', are included where appropriate.

The thesis is divided into three parts. The first part outlines the history of art forgery from its origins during the Roman Empire to the present day. The primary concern is with uncovering the development, extent and location of art forgery, rather than a detailed consideration of particular cases.

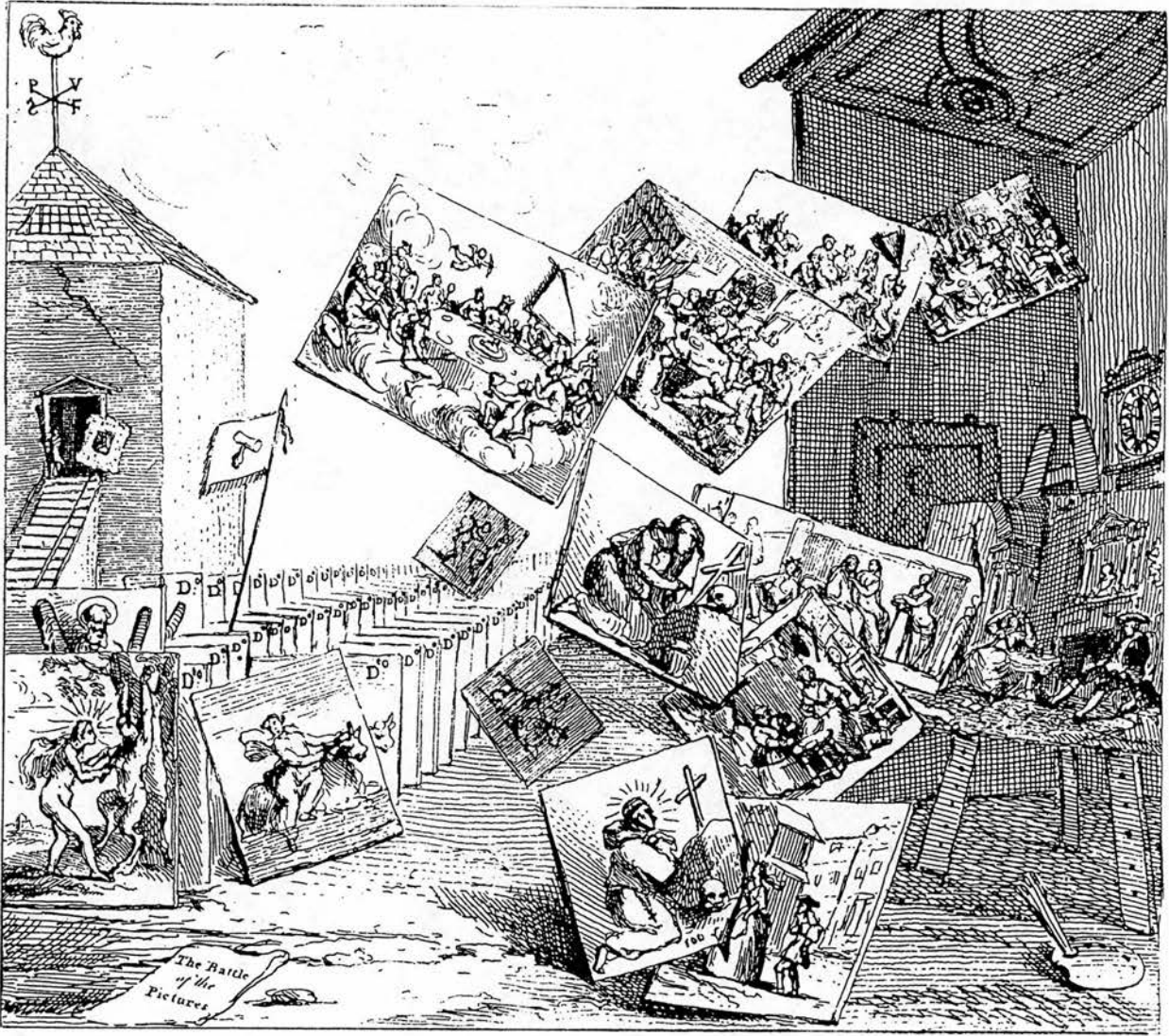
It is shown that art forgery is not a universal practice, but is historically and culturally limited to the Hellenistic and Roman world and, until recently, Europe since the Renaissance. The second part of the thesis explains the immediate conditions and circumstances which are necessary before art forgery will occur. These are shown to be the valuing of works of art as coming from a particular historical moment, culture or artist; positive distinction being made in favour of 'original' works over copies; and an adequate system of appropriation (found in collecting). The development of these conditions are considered in turn.

The third and last part takes the analysis a stage further, and looks at the economic and social structures on which the immediate conditions set out in the second part are based. Here individualisation and commodification, central to the structure of capitalism, are shown to have been influential in changing the position of the artist and nature of art in society. Also of importance, it is argued, was the "crisis of status" which followed the dismantling of feudal hierarchy. This is related, utilising Bourdieu's work on 'distinction', to the need for groups in the more fluid social relations of modern society to distinguish and distance themselves from others, and to define and protect their status. It is shown that art has a central role to play here, and that forgery partly occurs as a consequence of this.

FALSE IMAGES:
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ART FORGERY

*"La phase ultime de l'art, je la trouve
dans la falsification."*

Saint-Beuve



CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
PART I - THE HISTORY OF ART FORGERY	
1. The Origins of Art Forgery	11
2. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries	15
3. The Seventeenth Century	23
4. The Eighteenth Century	33
5. The Nineteenth Century	50
6. The Twentieth Century	72
PART II - EXPLANATION OF ART FORGERY AS A CULTURALLY SPECIFIC PRACTICE	
7. Introduction - Basis for the Occurrence of Art Forgery	99
8. Art's Histories and the Relativity of Perception	105
9. 'Pre-Modern' Conceptions of Art	110
10. The Position of the Artist in 'Pre-Modern' Societies	124
11. The Nature and Consequence of Art Viewed as Craft	135
12. The Emergence of New Perceptions of Art and Artists	145
13. The Emancipation of the Artist	154
14. The Independent Object	163
15. Expansion of the New Way of Seeing	171
16. The Development of Art Collecting	182
PART III - THE STRUCTURAL BASIS OF ART FORGERY	
17. Art, the Artist and Capitalism	210
18. Art and Cultural Capital	235
ANNEX - Art Forgery in China	272
BIBLIOGRAPHY	276

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

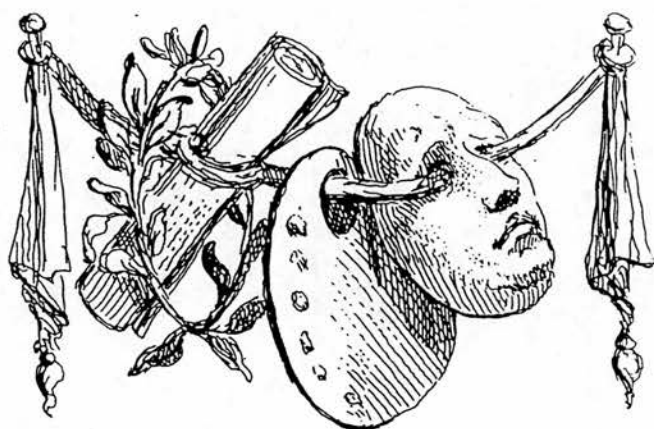
The research for this thesis was funded by SSRC grant no. S79-21013-SSA.

The thesis was originally supervised by Derick McClintock, and then by Beverley Brown and Zenon Bankowski.

I particularly wish to thank Peter Goodrich for his continual encouragement and 'unofficial supervision' of this work over the past years. I am also most grateful to Christopher Layden, who generously translated a large amount of material for me. In addition, I would like to thank Zenon Bankowski, Beverley Brown, Fiona Sandell and Peter Young for their help and support.

Finally, I thank all of my friends who put up with me during the writing of this work. They will now be happy that after so long I can no longer use this thesis as an excuse for doing, or not doing, many things.

INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

Alfred Maskell, in an article of 1906, wrote that:

The investigation and study of the history ... of spurious works of art, of their fabrication and workshops, and of the identification of examples ... are ... most important and interesting. But an exhaustive inquiry and connected account would require, to undertake them, a man of exceptional knowledge and experience: one not only possessing the talent of ferreting out and discovering the secrets and whereabouts of the most close and wary of corporations, but also an admitted expert in every branch of the history of art. (1)

Needless to say, I do not lay claim to possessing the qualities demanded here, and do not profess to providing in this thesis a complete and exhaustive history of art forgery. Indeed, such an enterprise, even if it could be achieved, if limited only to this, would be of marginal interest and value. A history of art forgery which only catalogued examples of the activity would not significantly increase our knowledge. Such an enterprise is really only a starting point; interpretation, acknowledging the social context of the practice, is required for meaning and understanding to be achieved.

However, most of the general studies of art forgery remain, at best, at this limited, specific level, comprising mainly uncritical accumulations of incidents and examples. These studies have often been specifically intended as guides for collectors. Otherwise, the rest of the literature is made up primarily of banal and superficial accounts of the deeds of a small number of 'notorious' forgers. In either case, most accounts are very partial and do not attempt to interpret the facts described, or to explain art forgery in terms of its social environment. It is, however, necessary to do this if the practice and meaning of art forgery are properly to be understood. It is the intention of this thesis to provide such an analysis.

The history of art forgery, when closely examined, indicates particular social connections, and, when considered from a sociological or social/historical perspective, it provides a dramatic entry to important issues surrounding the valuation and use of art in society. The occurrence

of art forgery, I shall argue, is bound up with central and defining features of the cultures in which it exists. Through realising this interconnection, it becomes apparent that the relationship between the appropriators of art works and the works themselves is part of a vital complex of social differentiation, rather than disinterested aesthetic appreciation. This study, through the medium of art forgery, attempts to provide a reconsideration of art as a social interest, and to reorientate and problematise some of the present uncritical, non-social and taken-for-granted views of art, its appreciation and its history.

The traditional, narrow, empirical response to art and the forging of it is rejected. Further, the focus here is not on the individual "pathology" of forgers, but instead on the wider social environment of the practice, in which art forgery is seen as a 'normal' rather than 'abnormal' activity. Its history is shown to be essentially bound up with the conditions of modern society.

The Literature

The context and intentions of this study can best be clarified in comparison with what has already been written on the subject.

No systematic or extensive history of art forgery has previously been written, although a brief survey is made by Borrelli and Urbani in the McGraw-Hill *Encyclopedia of World Art* (1961). (2) Reisner, however, has constructed a useful and basic, though unannotated, bibliography covering much of the literature relevant to the topic from 1848 to 1948. (3) The primary reason behind this exercise, Reisner notes, was because of the increasing importance of the scholarly and scientific approach to art history which emphasised correct attribution. This concern for the interests of curators and collectors has been the predominant purpose of the most adequate works on art forgery.

The most significant, and scholarly, of such studies is Kurz's *Fakes*, subtitled *A Handbook for Collectors and Students*, first published in 1948. (4) In his preface, Kurz notes that "a good deal of the existing literature on fakes is disappointing". (5) This book remains the most important detailed survey of the field, at least in English. This work,

however, is not a history of forgery; rather, it is a thematically arranged study of types of art forgeries (in paintings, illuminated manuscripts, sculpture in wood, etc) and is much concerned with the methods employed by forgers and the techniques that can uncover their work. A more historical essay by Kurz is his Fred Cook memorial lecture of 1972, "Early Art Forgeries: From the Renaissance to the Eighteenth Century". (6)

After Kurz's main study, the next best is Savage's *Forgeries, Fakes and Reproductions* (1963), similarly subtitled *A Handbook for Collectors*. (7) This is even more practically orientated than Kurz's work. Again organised by type of object (including furniture, jewellery, ceramics and glass, as well as painting and sculpture) the stated purpose of this work is to discuss "the making of forgeries, fakes, replicas, reproductions, and deceptive copies in a way which is intended to help the collector avoid them". (8)

Otherwise, the more scholarly and historical accounts are the catalogues of exhibitions on forgeries held in the past few decades, such as the British Museum's *Forgeries and Deceptive Copies* (1961), the Minneapolis Institute of Arts' *Fakes and Forgeries* (1973), and the Essen and Berlin *Fälschung und Forschung* (1977). These, by the nature of the exhibitions, and like the practical handbooks, tend to focus on particular examples of forgeries.

A less scholarly and somewhat disjointed work, but nonetheless a useful and easily accessible compilation of incidents of art forgery, is Arnau's (misleadingly titled in translation) *Three Thousand Years of Deception in Art and Antiques* (1961). (9) The main concentration of this book is on the methods of the forger and on the case histories a few of the best known forgers of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. In addition, there is a selection of examples and anecdotes (sometimes of dubious veracity) of art forgeries throughout history. Although a bibliography is provided, no footnotes are given, so it is difficult to check the accuracy of the detail. This is important since a number of factual errors are apparent. Arnau's general comments are also not always adequate or accurate, and insufficient distinction is made between 'real' forgeries and copies. This work is referred to where no alternative sources have been available, but its limited reliability has been kept in mind.

The best of the popular accounts, which concentrate on particular incidents, forgers and scandals, are Schüller's *Forgers, Dealers, Experts* (1960) (10), and Jeppson's *Fabulous Frauds: A study of Great Art Forgeries* (1971). (11) Both of these, however, only cover a very small part of the history of the subject. Also of interest is the short study by Tietze, *Genuine and False: Copies, Imitations, Forgeries* (1948). (12)

None of these works, however, approaches the central issues on the meaning and significance of art forgery. Although some acknowledge in passing the importance of the concept of originality to their field of study, and also relate the rise of art forgery to the development of art collecting, they go no deeper than this very general explanation of its occurrence.

A few attempts, however, have been made to locate more precisely the position of art forgery in its wider social context. Alsop, in his mammoth (and to my mind, infuriating and disorganised) study, *The Rare Art Traditions* (1982) (13), rightly identifies the interconnectedness between art collecting, art markets and forgery - in his terms, "by-products of art" which make up part of "an integrated, closely interacting cultural-behavioural system with frequent and far reaching effects on art itself" (14) - and the specific historical and social periods when these activities occur. For him, however, art collecting is "the basic component of the system, is the essential key to any history of the system as a whole". (15) While Alsop appreciates the requirement for art to become "an-end-in-itself", to be prised loose from a functional context, before collecting can arise, he enquires no further or deeper into the vital social conditions which are themselves responsible for these developments. Also, as his main concern is with collecting, his concentration on forgery is slight. This central linking of art forgery with collecting is also the theme of Nobili's straightforward *The Gentle Art of Faking* (1922). (16) Notwithstanding its title, much of this study concentrates on collecting without particular reference to forgery, and tends towards the anecdotal.

More percipient, at least in general, has been the German criminologist Thomas Würtenberger, who in his study, *Das Kunstfälschertum* (1940), considers the broad individual and social features which lead to the forgery of art. (17) As well as considering the personality of the art forger, he appreciates the importance of the coming together, "in the

unfolding of history", of "manifold currents of spiritual postures and diverse world outlooks, political circumstances and social and economic situations", which, "linking closely and influencing each other in many-faceted ways", produce the forgery of art. (18) Previous research, he argues, has concentrated "on the individual elements in the criminal personality"; he instead considers "the collective factors" relevant to the crime, including:

the late medieval and modern city against which form the artist's spatial environment; the development of the nation with its diverse strata; the status and profession of the artist and dealer; the economic situation of the artistic profession; the fluctuation of the art market; the forms of art dealing; and the methods and rigour of art collecting. (19)

In addition, he accepts that the "character of the victim is also of crucial importance", with the crime's success "often helped by the victim's gullibility and ingenuousness". (20) Similarly, in a later essay, he argues that "the *spiritual conditions of the time, overall economic development, the social position of the artist and views of the nature of art* have always provided, and continue to provide, powerful impulses for the ... spread of art forgery." (21)

However, although Würtenberger acknowledges the relevance of these social factors, he does not give a detailed or adequate account of their influence. His main study, *Das Kunstfälschertum*, remains general and vague in its discussion. Further, it only really explains, even generally, the immediate background to art forgery. It does not to any extent inquire into the deeper social and structural processes on which art forgery and its immediate background practices are ultimately based.

Argument of this Thesis

This thesis parallels and extends aspects of Würtenberger's argument, but it deals with the issues more widely, deeper and much more concretely than he does. It takes further the social analysis which he has attempted, locating the development of art forgery and fraud within a detailed socio-economic structure. Also, the interest here is much less directed to the

personality and motives of the forger. Any interest in attitudes and values is mainly in terms of those who are deceived by art forgeries.

The first part of the thesis outlines the history of art forgery in the West from its origins to the present day. The history of the practice in China is given in an annex. The exclusion of the Eastern world from the main text is partly on the grounds of the need to limit the scope of the enterprise to some extent, but primarily it is caused by my lack of detailed knowledge of the historical, social and economic conditions pertaining to this hemi-sphere, which would be necessary for the full explanation of the occurrence of art forgery there.

The primary concern is with uncovering the development, extent and location of art forgery, rather than with the lengthy detailing of particular cases - most of the famous incidents are included only as a small part of a much larger, and generally anonymous, history. To this extent, this history differs substantially from the existing studies of art forgery.

This identification of art forgery as historically and culturally specific leads directly to the need for an explanation of the circumstances and conditions necessary for its occurrence. The second part of the thesis therefore considers the immediate conditions underlying the development of art forgery. These are similar to those outlined by Württenberger, including new perceptions of art and of artists, and the rise of art collecting.

The third, and last, part of the thesis takes this analysis further, looking at the economic and social structures on which the immediate conditions set out in the second part were based. Of central importance here is the argument that historical changes in the evaluation of art, which encouraged the forging of it, can be partly accounted for in terms of a "crisis of status" following the dismantelling of the rigid feudal hierarchy. This is related to the need for groups in the more fluid modern societies to distinguish and distance themselves from others.

Definitions

As a short-hand, reference is usually made throughout this work to "art forgeries". Concentration, however, is mainly on painting and prints, and to a lesser extent sculpture. Other types, which generally fall under the cover of 'antiques', are considered where useful. It also has to be admitted that this terminology - reference to 'art' - raises serious difficulties. One of the basic arguments of this thesis is that different cultures have differing perceptions of the meaning and value of art. Indeed, it is accepted that in most past societies there was no awareness of 'art' as we understand the term. When discussing, for example, Egyptian 'art' therefore it is accepted that an inappropriate term is being imposed. It is, however, convenient to use this term as a short-hand for particular types of images, painting, sculptures, etc. The serious difficulties surrounding its use should, however, be kept in mind.

As far as reference to "forgery" is concerned, no differentiation is made here between "forgeries", "fakes", "falsifications", "counterfeits", "art frauds", "deliberate misattributions", and such like. The term "forgery" is intended as wide, covering pastiches, complete fabrications, false additions, fraudulent copies, works after the style of another, etc., so long as in each case there was an active attempt at deception, to pass the work off as that of another hand or of another period. It is accepted that in many cases the deception may not have been intended by the original author of work in question. The essence of forgery is not imitation but deceptive "passing off", pretence at being true or original, or imitating fraudulently.

References and notes are given at the end of each chapter.

---0---

REFERENCES

1. A Maskell, "Forgeries and Imitations of Works of Art", *The Art Journal*, 1906, p.290.
2. L V Borrelli and G Urbani, "Falsification and Forgery", in McGraw Hill, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, London, 1961, vol. V, cols. 335-342.
3. R G Reisner, *Fakes and Forgeries in the Fine Arts*, Special Libraries Association, New York, 1950.
4. O Kurz, *Fakes*, Faber & Faber, London, 1948. 2nd ed, Dover, New York, 1967.
5. *Ibid.*, p.17.
6. O Kurz, "Early Art Forgeries: From the Renaissance to the Eighteenth Century", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. CXXI, Jan. 1973, pp.74-89.
7. G Savage, *Forgeries, Fakes and Reproductions*, Barrie and Rockliff, London, 1963. Republished by White Lion, London, 1976.
8. *Ibid.*, p.x.
9. F Arnau, *Three Thousand Years of Deception in Art and Antiques*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1961.
10. S Schüller, *Forgers, Dealers, Experts*, Arthur Barker, London, 1960. Again, however, this work is limited by having neither a bibliography nor references.
11. L Jeppson, *Fabulous Frauds: A study of Great Art Forgeries*, Arlington Books, London, 1971.
12. H Tietze, *Genuine and False: Copies, Imitations, Forgeries*, Parrish, London, 1948.
13. J Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions: The History of Art Collecting and its Linked Phenomena Wherever These Have Appeared*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1982.
14. *Ibid.*, p.1.
15. *Ibid.*, p.32.
16. R Nobili, *The Gentle Art of Faking: A History of the Methods of Producing Imitations and Spurious Works of Art from the Earliest Times up to the Present Day*, Seeley Service, London, 1922.
17. T Würtenberger, *Das Kunstfälschertum*, Böhlau, Weimar, 1940.
18. *Ibid.*, p.4.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
21. T Würtenberger, "Criminological and Criminal-Law Problems of the Forging of Paintings", in H van de Waal, T Würtenberger, W Froentjes, *Aspects of Art Forgery*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1962, pp. 15-38.

PART I

THE HISTORY OF ART FORGERY



CHAPTER 1

THE ORIGINS OF ART FORGERY

The aim of this part is to construct an outline of the history of the forging of art. The concern is with uncovering its development, extent and location, rather than with the lengthy detailing of particular cases - most of the famous incidents will be included only as a small part of a much larger, and generally anonymous, history.

Most writers who have dealt with or commented on art forgery, if they have considered the matter at all, state that this activity is either universal or almost so. For example, Thomas Hoving, onetime director of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, has remarked that "Forgery is not a modern phenomenon. Just after the first true artist began to do his first work of art, you can be sure that the first forger began to do his", and that "Throughout the entire history of art, for many reasons ... you have forgeries." (1) Similarly, Geraldine Norman, biographer of the recent forger Tom Keating, has stated that "faking has been with us all through history" (2), and Hans Tietze has observed that "Counterfeits were made at all times" (3).

However, these statements and others like them mainly result from ethnocentric presumptions rather than critical historical investigation and are displaced by the facts which sometimes these writers themselves provide. A proper examination of the evidence shows art forgery to be historically and culturally limited and specific. As Würtenberger, one of the few writers to appreciate at least aspects of the real nature and meaning of art forgery, has written:

Deeds falling under the heading of 'art forgery' are ... not 'eternal crimes' ... but always occur only under the influence of a particular situation produced by social and mental history. (4)

Whilst the forgery of art has spread across much of the globe during the last two centuries, until this time with one exception this activity did not occur in non-European areas, even in those societies with very complex cultures and extensive practices of image making; even in the countries of Western Europe, again with one exception, art forgery is of fairly recent origin. To be more specific, forgery is not found in the artistically highly developed societies of ancient Egypt and Classical Greece. Similarly, though faking in other areas (documents, relics, etc.) occurred and may even have been common, art forgery did not develop in Western or Central Europe during the centuries of the Middle Ages, an epoch which includes the outstanding artistic periods we classify as Byzantine, Romanesque and Gothic.

By the clandestine nature of the subject the full extent of art forgery is unknown and unknowable. However, certain broad features are apparent. Until the late fifteenth century only two societies, Imperial Rome and China, seem to have spawned the forging of art to any significant extent. Not a great deal of information is available on this practice in either of these countries. Beyond a few comments and gibes against certain collectors, and some notes in the works of Pliny and others, there is no detailed contemporary accounts of imitation and faking in Rome (5). Information on forgery in China is also limited and not always clear. Nevertheless, the examples and hints which are available are of some interest and help create a general impression of the fraudulent practices in the art worlds of these two cultures. Because this study is focussed on the culture of the West, only the Roman examples will be considered here. To complete the picture, however, a brief summary of art forgery in China is given in an annex.

In Rome, mainly during the period of the Empire, the forgery of Hellenistic art seems to have been prevalent, the evidence such as it is leading one modern-day commentator to observe that a quarter of Rome near the Villa Publica was rife with the practices of falsification and forgery, with "All of the practices of Fifty-Seventh Street" appearing in the writings of the satirists. (6) One of these writers, Martial, the Latin poet and epigrammatist (c.40-104 A.D.), pointedly stated that the friends of one over-boastful individual were as genuine as his

collection (7), whilst Phaedrus, a poet of the first century A.D., commented on art forgeries constructed to satisfy the demands for Greek antiquities in the time of the Emperor Augustus. In his free Latin translation of the fables of Aesop he added a prologue in which he wrote:

I have already paid to Aesop whatever I owed him by way of acknowledgement, and if I bring in his name hereafter anywhere, you must know that it is for the sake of his prestige, just as certain artists nowadays succeed in getting a higher price for their new productions if they inscribe the name of Praxiteles on their marbles, Mys on their polished silver, and Zeuxis on their paintings. So much greater is the favour that biting envy bestows on bogus antiquities than upon sound modern productions. (8)

Similarly, Cicero in the previous century had decried false inscriptions on statues - "Odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum". (9)

The Greek sculptor Zenodorus, of the period of the Emperor Nero, apparently faked works in the style of the Greek artist Calamis (10), and in the reign of Hadrian the inscribing of statues with the names of the great Greek sculptors seems to have been a common practice (11). Also, Pliny notes that all types of precious stones were imitated, with no fraud bringing so much money as the faking of sardonyx. (12) One other type of fraud, the false association of particular objects with famous historical or mythical figures, was also common, but this does not fit into our general concern although it is of related interest.

With these Roman and Chinese exceptions, the forgery of art, until a wider expansion in the late eighteenth century, seems to have been confined to the countries of Western and Central Europe, with its tentative beginnings there being found in the Middle and High Renaissance (i.e. the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries), primarily in Italy and Germany. It is the history and development of forgery from this time and the circumstances which enabled and encouraged this practice which will form the main concentration of this thesis. This is not, however, to deny the importance of the Roman and Chinese incidents. Whilst they will not be considered further to any extent, the overall argument to be presented can be presumed to be

generally relevant in the explanation of the occurrences of forgery there too.

---0---

REFERENCES

1. T Hoving, *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol.xxvi, no.6, Feb 1968, p.242.
2. G Norman, with F Norman and T Keating, *The Fake's Progress*, Arrow, London, 1978, p.207.
3. H Tietze, *Genuine and False*, Parrish, London, 1948, p.16.
4. T Würtenberger, "Criminological and Criminal-Law Problems of the Forging of Paintings", in H van de Waal, T Würtenberger, W Froentjes, *Aspects of Art Forgery*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1962, p.16.
5. R Nobili, *The Gentle Art of Faking*, Seeley Service, London, 1922, p.58.
6. F H Taylor, *The Taste of Angels - A History of Art Collecting from Rameses to Napoleon*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1948, pp.23-24.
7. *Ibid.*, p.27.
8. Babrius and Phaedrus, (ed. and trans. by B E Perry), Heinemann, London, 1965.
9. Nobili, *op. cit.*, p.24.
10. F Arnau, *Three Thousand Years of Deception in Art and Antiques*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1961, p.295.
11. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p.27.
12. Nobili, *op. cit.*, p.58.

CHAPTER 2

THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

It is not certain when the first Western art fakes were produced after those of Rome. This probably can never be ascertained because the first examples may have remained undetected. Further, it is not possible to define precisely whether some objects should properly fall within the category of 'art' (rather than say archaeological remains), and therefore whether or not the forging of them, if this did occur, should be included in our area of concern. Also, initially there existed a 'grey area' where the distinction between copies and original works was not developed nor seen as of great importance, and so forgery as an activity was not adequately conceived. Nonetheless, some more or less acceptable history of the origins of art forgery in modern Western Europe can be constructed.

One of the essential features distinguishing a forgery from a copy is the intention to deceive. This intention, at least, is present in an incident from the middle of the fifteenth century, when a Neapolitan painter, Colantonio, constructed a deceptive imitation. Pietro Summonte recorded this in 1524:

It so happened that a very well done portrait of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, was brought from Flanders. Colantonio managed to borrow this portrait from the merchant to whom it belonged. He copied it with such exactitude that one picture could not be distinguished from the other, and returned to the owner not the original but his own version. The merchant did not doubt that he had his own Flemish picture till Colantonio revealed his successful trick. (1)

However, whilst this may represent one of the earliest examples of the forging of a painting, its meaning must ultimately remain ambiguous. Kurz calls it a practical joke, and it possibly remains well within the traditions of medieval craftsmanship, with the

accompanying attitudes and conceptions which did not readily distinguish copies from originals and which gave primary value to straight-forward skill in execution. These attitudes will be considered at more length later.

Otherwise, the earliest art forgeries of which we are aware occurred in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. They are of classical sculptures and other classical objects. One of the first known examples dates from 1495 and concerns a prophry cup made by a Florentine engraver of precious stones, Pietro Maria da Pescia. According to Marc Anton Michiel, a sixteenth century Venetian connoisseur, this was buried, "together with many other of his works, in Rome at the time of King Charles' invasion, so that it was cracked a little, and it was necessary to put a copper band around it. This cup has been sold several times as an antique at very high prices." (2)

But perhaps the best known incident of this period is that of a year later, 1496, involving a carved marble of a sleeping Cupid in the antique manner by the young Michelangelo. This so impressed his patron, Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici, that he promised if Michelangelo would "treat it artificially, so as to make it look as though it had been dug up", then he, Lorenzo, would send it to Rome, where "it would be accepted as an antique", and Michelangelo "would be able to sell it at a far higher price". (3) He did this, and the sculpture was subsequently sold for thirty ducats to a dealer, who then resold it to Cardinal Riario for two hundred. The deception was, however, disclosed and the dealer was forced to take the figure back.

Kurz argues that there can be no doubt that a number of bronzes made during the Renaissance were intended as forgeries from the start, since they were actually cast as fragments, so as to appear to be damaged antique works. (4) However, it was in the production of busts of Roman emperors that the output of the forgers was "so enormous that it dwarfed the by no means inconsiderable number of genuine pieces." (5) One of the individuals responsible for such productions was named by the important sixteenth century art historian, Vasari, as the Milanese sculptor Tommaso della Porta (d.

1567), who was "excellant with marble, and has copied marble antique heads which have been sold as antiques, while no one equals him at masks". (6) Vasari himself owned an example of his work which, he wrote, "everyone takes to be an antique". Della Porta also created twelve busts of Roman emperors which were sold to Pope Julius III, who then, unaware of their true nature, rewarded della Porta with an official post worth 100 crowns a year, and kept the busts in his chamber as treasures. However, according to Vasari, "It is believed that Frà Guglielmo and others who envied him succeeded in having them sent back to him, when they were sold to merchants and sent to Spain" (7), where presumably they again masqueraded as antiques.

How we are to interpret some of these early incidents of faked antiquities is not immediately clear, however, particularly since many people at the time were prepared to praise them. Vasari, for example, thought that no imitator of the antique equalled della Porta (it was for this reason that he was thought worthy of favourable mention in the *Lives*). Recently, Borrelli has argued that "The intentions of these artists was certainly not to deceive (except for reasons of playfulness or eagerness), but to draw nearer to the ancient world and become identified with it in their artistic recreations of its style." (8) According to her, these works were not forgeries but only imitations, and that "even though some of them were mistaken for antiques, they were not falsifications". This view however seems to be too generous, at least for many of the incidents, since some efforts were made to 'distress' many of the objects discussed so that they would possess an apparent age, and their sales were neither honest nor playful. Nevertheless, the activities of this period, especially in relation to classical works, and the responses to them, are less easy to interpret than those of the following centuries. This mainly arises from the transitional nature of perceptions of art and imitation at this time. This will be considered and clarified in the part II, where the changing status of art and the artist in society, and the development of very different attitudes towards copies and originals - a central concern of our area of study - is covered in some detail.

By the first decades of the sixteenth century, there was also

widespread imitation and forgery of contemporary art. One particularly famous example was the reproduction in about 1524 by Andrea del Sarto of Raphael's portrait of Pope Leo X. According to Vasari, Federico II, Duke of Mantua, saw this portrait whilst passing through Florence, and as it pleased him so much he asked Pope Clement VII for it. This request was apparently willingly granted and Ottaviano de Medici was directed to pack it and send it to Mantua. Ottaviano was however "greatly displeased" by this order, and instead,

he sent secretly for Andrea and explained the matter to him, saying there was nothing for it but to make a copy and send it to the duke, keeping back Raphael's picture. Andrea promised to do his best, and set to work secretly in Ottaviano's house. He succeeded so well that Ottaviano, connoisseur that he was, could not tell the copy from the original, for Andrea had even copied the grease spots. They then sent it framed to Mantua, the duke being delighted, and the work was much admired by Giulio Romano the painter, Raphael's pupil, who did not suspect the truth. (9)

However, this example is somewhat singular and superior, with the copy having a quality which made it famous in its own right. More representative are the less exalted imitations which were becoming common-place. Albrecht Dürer was particularly affected by these, complaining against extensive copying and forging of his work at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1506 he wrote from Venice to his friend Willibald Pirckheimer that, "I have many enemies who copy my works in churches and wherever else they can get hold of them". One of the main, and more gifted, offenders against him was Marcantonio Raimondi (c.1482-1533), who forged or at least reproduced his woodcuts of the *Life of the Virgin*. Dürer protested to the Signoria of Venice, the supreme authority of the city state, which after recognising the signum of the artist as "a valid token of protection", published an edict banning Marcantonio from adding to his engravings the 'A D' monogram of Dürer. However, no measures could be taken against the publication of these copies without this sign. Altogether, Marcantonio is reported as having copied no less than eighty of Dürer's works, including the thirty-seven prints of his *Little Passion* woodcuts. (10) No doubt in later years the

distinctive signature of Dürer, where not included by Marcantonio, was added to most or all of these copies. In Italy, other artists, such as Agostino de Musi, Giovanni Antonio de Brescia, and Nicoletto da Modena, also imitated central figures from Dürer's work, although their 'borrowings' were more than mere copying. Similarly in Germany there was much forgery and imitation. In Augsburg, Dürer's etchings were copied by Hieronymus Hopfer, and his woodcuts by Virgil Solis. (11) According to Sandrart, the seventeenth century art historian, the Nuremberg artist Hans Leonhard Schaüfelein was so exact an imitator of Dürer's style that "often the best authorities were in doubt whether to ascribe his work to Dürer or himself". (12) The threat, "Woe to you! you thieves and imitators of other people's labour and talents. Beware of laying your audacious hand on this our work", which Dürer printed on the title of the 1511 edition of the prints of the *Life of the Virgin*, was clearly generally ignored. (13) The artist did receive some redress, however, when he complained to the Nuremberg municipality that his work was being "fraudulently reproduced" by Hieronymus Greff of Frankfurt. The municipality decreed in January 1512:

A stranger who has sold prints in front of the Town Hall, among which are some bearing the mark of Albrecht Dürer, copied fraudulently, must engage on oath to remove all these marks and to sell no work of the kind here. In case of contravention all these prints shall be seized and confiscated as spurious. (14)

After Dürer's death in 1528 the number of forgeries of his works were extensive. By that time, it is alleged that there were more forged engravings in existence than genuine ones, as well as numerous copies and imitations of his work. (15) In these circumstances, Dürer's widow was obliged to appeal for protection of her rights against imitations. She was only able to prevent false prints being issued by buying, with the help of the local magistracy, the printing blocks used for the forgeries. But this had only a minor local impact, for the practice was to continue and expand, with whole collections of alleged works by Dürer being fabricated. In the mid-sixteenth century, for example, Leopold Wilhelm of Austria was

cheated into buying sixty-eight works supposedly by Dürer. Such fraudulent reproduction was to reach a climax at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. (16) One noted imitator of this period was Hans Hoffman (d. c. 1591) who, according to Neudorf writing in 1547, "was a diligent painter ... who copied Albrecht Dürer so assiduously that many of his works were sold as Dürer originals." (17)

Another German painter, Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553), seems also to have frequently suffered from the forging of his works, both during and after his lifetime. For instance, Hans Leohard Schäufolein, whom we have already noted, boasted of having more successfully imitated Cranach than any other painter, with the exception of his copies of Dürer. (18)

By the middle of the sixteenth century the practice of picture faking had clearly become well developed, and the attitude towards it had become much less ambiguous, with the forger now being seen with less tolerance or indifference as artistic attitudes and interests changed, and the importance of originality and individual creativity became more entrenched. The Wittkowers note the development at this time of "a respect for authenticity and, implicitly, a weariness of copies or concoctions with fraudulent intent." (19) An important example of this attitude is found in the *Commentarios de la Pintura*, of about 1560, by the Spanish connoisseur Don Felipe de Guevara. In this treatise he wrote:

That which Hieronymus Bosch [c 1450-1516] did with wisdom and decorum others did, and still do, without any discretion and good judgement; for having seen in Flanders how well received was this kind of painting by Hieronymus Bosch, they decided to imitate it and painted monsters and imaginary subjects, thus giving to understand that in this alone consisted the imitation of Bosch. In this way came into being numbers of paintings of this kind which are signed by the name of Hieronymus Bosch but are in fact fraudulently inscribed: pictures to which he would never have thought of putting his hand but which are in reality the work of smoke and short-sighted fools who smoked them in fireplaces in order to lend them credibility and an aged look. (20)

Examples of Bosch forgeries circulating in Antwerp in 1557 have also been noted, as has an immensely active posthumous school of

Bosch which flourished in the Netherlands, where artists such as Huys and Mandyn made a living painting in his style. Soon many forgers were at work, providing an insatiable market with their products, to the extent that the number of copies and imitations of his work became immense. (21) This particular artist was to be continuously forged until the end of the sixteenth century, when his popularity waned.

Another Netherlandish master who was often forged was Quentin Metsys (1465-1530). In an attempt to stop such faking of 'old masters', the city magistrates of Antwerp in 1575 passed legislation which prohibited the forging of paintings. (22)

The forging of drawings to any extent also began in the second half of the sixteenth century. For example, the Dutch artist Denis Calvaert (1540-1619), who lived in Bologna, is known to have produced for a dealer called Pomponio spurious drawings supposedly by the great masters. These included studies for Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*, and the *School of Athens* by Raphael. The seller of these forgeries apparently gave them conviction by treating the paper so as to show convincing signs of age and handling. (23)

It seems reasonable to presume that these documented incidents were not isolated ones, and that generally the extent of art forgery increased continuously throughout the sixteenth century in a number of countries of Western Europe. Nevertheless, it must have remained fairly limited at this time. This, however, was to change in the following centuries.

---O---

REFERENCES

1. Quoted in O Kurz, *Fakes*, Faber & Faber, London, 1948, p. 31.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 119

3. A Condivi, *Life of Michelangelo* (1553), quoted in R Wittkower and M Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists*, Norton, New York, 1969, p.201.
4. Kurz, *Fakes*, *op. cit.*, p.182.
5. O Kurz, "Early Art Forgeries: From the Renaissance to the Eighteenth Century", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. CXXI, Jan 1973, p.79.
6. G Vasari, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (2nd ed. 1567), Dent, London, 1963, vol.4, p.241.
7. *Ibid.*
8. L V Borrelli, "History of Falsification", *Encyclopedia of World Art*, McGraw-Hill, London, 1961, vol.V, col.336.
9. Vasari, *op. cit.*, pp.317-18.
10. S Schüller, *Forgers, Dealers, Experts*, Barker, London, 1960, pp.14-15; and F Arnau, *Three Thousand Years of Deception in Art and Antiques*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1961, p.119.
11. T Württemberg, *Das Kunstfälschertum*, Böhlau, Weimar, 1940, p.115.
12. Quoted in Schüller, *op. cit.*, p.15.
13. T B Donson, *Prints and the Print Market*, Cromwell, New York, 1977, pp.122-23; and Kurz, *Fakes*, *op. cit.*, p.106.
14. Quoted in Kurz, *ibid.*
15. Arnau, *op. cit.*, p.120.
16. Schüller, *op. cit.*, p.16.
17. Quoted in Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p.202.
18. Schüller, *op. cit.*, p.25.
19. Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p.202.
20. Quoted in J Snyder (ed), *Bosch in Perspective*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1973, p.29.
21. Kurz, "Early Art Forgeries", *op. cit.*, p.75.
22. Z Z Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987, p.44.
23. Kurz, "Early Art Forgeries", *op. cit.*, p.83.

CHAPTER 3

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

From the seventeenth century on, the Wittkowers note, the list of perpretrators of fraudulent imitations is endless. (1) One of the notorious cases from the beginning of this century is worth quoting at length because of the insights it gives into the actual production of the more sophisticated forgeries. Giovanni Baglione, writing in 1642, tells of the painter Terenzio Terenzi of Urbino (d. c.1621) who made a practice of passing off his own work as the efforts of earlier masters. He, according to Baglione:

... went about buying old panels and old-fashioned frames blackened by smoke and worm-eaten which showed some figure even though rough and badly worked. He painted on top of these, and by means of some good drawing and much messing about with colours, he made them look like pictures many hundred years old. With his art and his ingenuity he took in the most knowledgeable minds of his time, that is, those who make it their profession to understand the manners of the excellent painters of old ... (2)

However, in one instance he overstreached himself, and his deception was found out. Whilst in the service of Cardinal Montalto, he obtained an old picture with a fine carved gilt frame onto which he painted a picture "which seemed genuine and old to whoever was not of the profession or a good master himself". He then passed it off to his patron as a work by Raphael, but the fraud was recognised and Terenzio was dismissed by the disgusted cardinal. (3)

The works of Dürer also continued to be forged in this century - Kurz states that he was one of two artists in the seventeenth century who "received special attention on the part of the forgers". (4) Often his monogram was fraudulently added during this period to works by other artists of the previous century which were originally only copies or stylistically similar, rather than outright, deliberate forgeries. One admission of this practice occurs in the diary of Hans Hieronymus Imhoff, a member of a once wealthy humanist family which had become impoverished due to the Thirty

Years War. Circumstances necessitated the sale of the remnants of a previously important collection, the value of which had been enhanced "by numerous attributions to great masters and spurious signatures". (5) Imhoff himself wrote on the occasion of the sale in 1633:

Thank God we were able to conclude a much better deal than we ever could have hoped for, as there was not a single piece of importance among the things sold, which were for the large part small water-colours. Moreover, it may well be doubted of many among them whether they were actually painted by Dürer ... (6)

A year later the same writer listed, amongst others, the successful sale of a small picture of *Our Lady*, painted on wood in oil-colours, which his "father of blessed memory caused Dürer's signature to be put under ... but there was not sufficient grounds to believe that Dürer had painted it". It was sold for fifty thaler. Similarly, there was sold "A fine lion on parchment; though A Dürer's sign appears on this sheet, it is generally belived that it had been painted by Hans Hoffman; for 40 thaler." (7)

As well as this type of, in Kurz's phrase, "rather unimaginative fraud" (8), which was committed innumerable times, pastiches in the style of Dürer were also very common in a variety of media. Many of the seventeenth century examples of these were produced in München, a city where numerous original and outstanding paintings and drawings by Dürer could be studied. The greatest of these Dürer pasticheurs was the sculptor Georg Schweigger (1613-90). (9)

The other artist who "received special attention" in this century was the Venetian Giorgione (1475-1510), very few of whose works can be authenticated. One of the most important forgers of this painter was Pietro della Vecchia (1605-78), the so-called "ape of Giorgione". His work was praised as perfect by the seventeenth century writer Marco Boschini, whilst the German art historian and painter Sandrart extolled the deceptive excellence of Pietro's 'Giorgiones', relating in his *Academia* how in 1650 he himself narrowly escaped being taken in by one of these productions. He noted how, though he had contemplated the picture for a long time, it was only after he had examined its back that he was "able to recognise that the picture could not be by Giorgione whose style it mirrored with such perfect fidelity". (10) Pietro also imitated other great Venetian painters, including

Palma Vecchio, Pordenone, and Titian.

Other conscious forgeries in the style of Giorgione and Titian are also known to have been produced by Nicholas Regnier (1590-1667). Similarly, the Neapolitan painter Luca Giordano forged Titian and other Venetian artists. This is confirmed in a letter of 1664 from Giacomo di Castro, also a Neapolitan painter, who wrote to the Sicilian collector, Antonio Ruffo:

Here there is no occasion to apply or spend because nothing of quality appears, only some pieces that a certain Luca Giordano forging now Titian and then Paola Veronese ... he has done a good job and then he gives an antique tint which does not appear badly to Signore Gaspare nor to many others and merchants; however, it has been discovered ... (11)

Early copies of Titians, probably made without intention to deceive, were subsequently passed off as or mistaken for original works. Two artists whose paintings have been so attributed were Alessandro Vartori (1588-1648) and Guiseppe Caletti (1600-1660) of Ferrara. (12)

Generally, the two main centres for forgeries in seventeenth century Italy were Venice and Rome, which contained the main Italian markets for art at this time. Boschini, in a satirical poem on the art world of Venice specifically warned collectors to be aware of old, smoked paintings, and of the practice of the fakers of putting their productions in handsome and expensive frames. (13) The scene in Rome was similar. This was surveyed by Giulio Mancini in his treatise *Considerazioni Sulla Pittura* of about 1620. It was, he wrote, above all important to distinguish whether a piece was an original or a copy "since some copies are so well produced that it is difficult to tell the difference". Those who try to pass pictures off as originals, he continued, "often expose them to the smoke of burning straw, which produces a coating similar to that caused by the passage of time; others obtain old pictures and execute their own works on top of them." However, despite all of this, Mancini argued:

an experienced person can detect these tricks; he studies the picture to see if it really displays the quality of the artist under whose name it is displayed and sold; whether there is the accuracy, especially in the rendering of objects which of necessity must be rendered clearly and in detail, such as hair, beards and eyes. These passages of painting resemble pieces of writing, which [in copies] lack the clarity and resolution of the

master to whom they are ascribed. The same result can also often be achieved by studying flashes of light, or folds in clothes. (14)

One of the many seventeenth century Roman collectors who could no doubt have made good use of such advice was Lelio Guidiccioni, a poet in the circle of the Barberini, who "burned with extraordinary zeal and lust for pictures and spared no labour or expense in acquiring them", but merely obtained many doubtful 'Michelangelos', 'Raphaels' and 'Perino del Vagas'. (15)

Forgery of drawings is referred to by Malvasia, writing in 1678, and Baldinucci in 1681. Malvasia noted Sebastiano Brunetti as a skillful forger of "disegni antichi", while Baldinucci argued that first sketches were counterfeited least because it was more difficult to imitate the freedom of their lines. (16)

Numerous Italian artists seem to have made a living in the seventeenth century by producing forgeries. One of the most notable ones in Rome was Antonio de la Cornea, whom John Evelyn described in his *Diary* (1645) as among the most famous artists of that city, "who has an addresse of counterfeiting the hands of the ancient Masters, as to make his Copies passe for Originals". (17) Other artists, such as Andrea Sacchi and Oliviero, whilst well enough established in their own right, are noted as having produced forgeries in times of necessity. Sacchi and Oliviero both copied Carracci drawings which were then sold as originals. (18)

There also seems to have been "a deliberate and extensive commerce in fakes" of the work of Caravaggio (1573-1610) centred in Rome. (19) This major artist had spent a relatively long period of his working life in that city, and his revolutionary and distinctive style was frequently imitated there, to the extent that a whole school of 'Caravaggisti' has been distinguished; also, his paintings were often copied. Moir's study of these copyists reveals good reasons to presume that some were also active in the production of deliberate forgeries of the master's work, for the "demand for his work during the first three decades of the seventeenth century must have far surpassed the supply, and his followers must have found it both tempting and quite easy to pass off copies of his paintings as originals, particularly at a distance from South Italy where the great majority of his own pictures could be seen." (20) Moir lists some of these transformations. For example, Caroselli copied Caravaggio's *Christ at the Column*, which, according to

Passeri, was so perfectly made as to deceive Borgianni; Alonzo Rodriquez was apparently caught red-handed faking in Venice; a copy of the *Lute Player* by Magnone rapidly became an 'original' in the Barberini inventories; similarly, the copy by Bononi of the *Entombment* became an 'autograph' Caravaggio, noted by Reynolds; and De Dominici accounted how his father sold to a French Knight of Malta some Vaccaro drawings purporting to be autograph Caravaggios. (21)

Some attention must be paid in this survey of the Roman scene to Claude Lorraine (1600-82), who, although French, spent most of his working life in or around Rome. He seems to have been forged so often during his own lifetime that he was obliged to take definite steps to protect his interests. According to Fillipo Baldinucci, who knew Claude personally, while the artist was working on some pictures,

... not only was his composition cribbed by some envious persons desirous of unfair earnings, but, through imitation of his manner, copies were sold in Rome as originals by his brush; by this the master was being discredited, the patron for whom the pictures were painted badly served, and the buyers defrauded since they were given copies instead of originals. But matters did not end there as the same happened to all the pictures which he painted thereafter. Poor Claude, who was a man of innocent ways, did not know from whom to guard himself among numerous persons who came to his studio nor what decision to take. Every day similar pictures were brought to him so that he might recognise whether they were by his hand or not. Thereupon he decided to keep a book and began copying the composition of all pictures which left his studio, describing with a really masterly touch every minute detail of the picture itself, for whom it had been painted, and, if I remember rightly, the honorarium which he had received for it. To this book he gave the name of *Book of Compositions or Book of Truth*. (22)

The Wittkowers note that the compilation of this *Liber Veritatis* was by no means unusual, with even lessser artists, such as Elisabetta Sirani, keeping lists to prove the authenticity of their work. (23)

It was not only in Germany and Italy that fraudulent practices were common. By the seventeenth century they had become widespread. In France, for example, Sebastien Bourdon (1616-71) and Jean Michelin (1623-96) had a certain notoriety for their deceptive copies. Louis Henri Loménie, Comte de Brienne, a great collector of the period kept a notebook containing details on these two "dangereux copistes" (24), and both of them apparently achieved great success in Paris by faking Italian painters. (25) Michelin also

specialised in faked Le Nains, whilst Bourdon seems to have been quite catholic in his coverage. It has been said of him that "since he had a lively imagination, a good memory, and a great facility with the brush, he easily counterfeited whatever he saw, imitating the mannerisms of anybody."

(26) As well as producing forgeries after Italian painters, including Andrea Sacchi, Annibale Carracci and Michelangelo, he also included Pieter van Laer ('Bamboccio'), Poussin, and especially Claude, in his repertoire. (27)

Some indication of the methods employed at this time was given by William Sanderson, in his treatise *Graphice* (1658):

It is said that Laniere in Paris, by a cunning way of tempering his Colours with Chimney Soote, the Painting becoms duskish, and seems ancient; which done, he roules up and thereby it crackls, and so mistaken for an old Principall, it being well copied from a good hand. (28)

Whilst it was not until the eighteenth century that the French artist Nicolas Poussin (1593/4-1665) was to be extensively forged, fakes of his work have been traced back to at least 1666, the year after his death, when Nicolas Bonnat in Paris produced an engraved portrait inscribed "N. Poussin Pinxit Romanae". Engravings generally seem to have played a considerable part in the falsification of Poussins, with some examples possibly dating from the artist's lifetime. Blunt concludes that "It seems clear ... that before the end of the seventeenth century a number of engravings had appeared with false attributions to Poussin, and they are sufficient in number to justify the student in rejecting the evidence of any engraving, even of a fairly early date, if it is not supported by other external evidence, or if the style of the work is not consistent with that of Poussin". (29) His paintings also seem to have been forged in the second half of the seventeenth century. One of the earliest examples to come on the market was a *Mars and Venus*, which appeared as a Poussin in the inventory of the collection of Louis XIV in 1683. (30)

Forgery of art also developed further north throughout this century, particularly in Antwerp and Amsterdam. Weijermann, for example, recorded that:

Thousands of pictures have been made from etchings by Rubens and are made daily by the Antwerp Friday market painters, which society causes pictures to

multiply like pigs, many falsified paintings being sold to the Germans or the Poles as real works of Rubens. (31)

In an early attempt to counter such activities Rubens, along with other Antwerp painters and engravers, in 1633 took legal action against the copyists who were depriving artists of the "fruits of their labour and invention". (32)

One of the best known of these forgers who "mass-produced fakes of the Antwerp artists" was Jan Pieters. After working in England as an assistant to Godfrey Kneller, he became an art dealer, and according to Württenberger:

Each year he travelled to Holland, bought numerous pictures, and circulated them among London art enthusiasts. He was an able copyist of Rubens' work. Thus he had an Antwerp retailer sell many of his drawings, done in Rubens' style. And he would paint over Rubens engravings in two or three colours, putting these on the market as Rubens' own work. Or else he painted his own pictures on Italian canvas, passing them off then as Italian works. (33)

Another copyist of Ruben's work was Matthijs Musson, who had been one of painter's assistants and subsequently became an art dealer. His copies were so good that experts at the time could not distinguish between their works. Not in every case, however, as is shown by an angry letter of about 1645 to Mussen from a client in Bruges. He had purchased two paintings, one of them a Rubens, from Musson as "original, principal pieces"; however, while he had "little understanding" of paintings, "a great connoisseur with great knowledge" had judged them to be copies. (34)

The general extent of picture forgery in Antwerp must have been excessive. Van Mander wrote that it was there that Hans Bol "quite gave up painting on canvas, because he saw how people were reproducing copies of his canvases and selling them as originals". (35)

Lawsuits over forgeries were quite common in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. (36) For example, Flemish court documents of 1654 report a dispute over some sketches, "not because the sketches were not well made, but because the plaintiff contended that the same were invented by him while it was obvious that the invention was of ... Raphael d'Urbini". (37) One of the most famous cases was between Gerrit Ulenborch and the Prince Elector of Brandenburg in 1671. The latter had bought from the former for 30,000 florins what he had thought were thirteen important Italian pictures.

However, after the painter Hendrick van Fromention declared the works to be copies, the Prince refused to complete the sale, and Ulenborch called on the magistrates of Amsterdam to decide on the authenticity of the paintings. Fifty-one artists were called upon to render their opinions, thirty-one of whom supported Ulenborch's claim and the remainder rejecting it. Presumably this was sufficient for Ulenborch to be vindicated. However, whilst Taylor says of Ulenborch that he was "the wealthiest and most upright dealer in Holland" (38), a near contemporary of Ulenborch, Arnold Houbraken, the Dutch artist and critic, said of him that, after working as a rather untalented painter, "he turned to art dealing, setting numerous young artists to work to copy other masters' paintings, selling these fraudulently for his own gain". (39)

---0---

REFERENCES

1. R Wittkower and M Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists*, Norton, New York, 1969, p.204.
2. Quoted *ibid*.
3. *Ibid*.
4. O Kurz, "Early Art Forgeries: From the Renaissance to the Eighteenth Century", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. CXXI, Jan. 1973, p.83.
5. O Kurz, *Fakes*, Faber & Faber, London, 1948, p.34.
6. Quoted *ibid*.
7. Quoted *ibid*.
8. *Ibid.*, p.33.
9. Kurz, "Early Art Forgeries", *op. cit.*, pp.85-86.
10. *Ibid*, p.83; and Kurz, *Fakes*, *op. cit.*, p.36.
11. Quoted in H E Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol.1 - *The Religious Paintings*, Phaidon, London, 1969, p.4.

12. *Ibid*, p.4.
13. J W Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1982, p.96.
14. G Mancini, *Considerazioni Sulla Pittura* (c.1620), Rome, 1956, vol.I, p.134.
15. F Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1980, p.121.
16. J S Held, "The Early Appreciation of Drawings", in *Latin American Art, and the Baroque Period in Europe - Studies in Western Art. Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, vol.III, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1963, p.93.
17. Quoted in Kurz, "Early Art Forgeries", *op. cit.*, p.86.
18. *Ibid*.
19. A Moir, *Caravaggio and his Copyists*, New York University Press, New York, 1976.
20. *Ibid.*, p.17.
21. *Ibid.*, p.18.
22. Quoted in Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p.203.
23. *Ibid*.
24. Kurz, *Fakes*, *op. cit.*, p.37.
25. F Arnau, *Three Thousand Years of Deception in Art and Antiques*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1961, p.298.
26. G de Saint-Georges, *Mémoires inédits sur les artistes français* (1854) - quoted in Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p.203.
27. Kurz, "Early Art Forgeries", *op. cit.*, p.87; and Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p.203.
28. Quoted in Kurz, *Fakes*, *op. cit.*, p.37. (R Redgrave and S Redgrave, *A Century of British Painting* (1866), Phaidon, London, 1947, p.4, gives a rather different version.)
29. A Blunt, "Poussin Studies XIII: Early Falsifications of Poussin", *Burlington Magazine*, CIV, Nov. 1962, p.489.
30. *Ibid*, p.490.
31. Quoted in T Württenberger, *Das Kunstfälschertum*, Böhlau, Weimar, 1940, Württemberger, pp.107-8.
32. Z Z Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987, p.82.

33. Würtenberger, *op. cit.*, p.108; see also Arnau, *op. cit.*, p.72.
34. Quoted in R H Marijuissen, *Paintings: Genuine, Fraud, Fake - Modern Methods of Examining Paintings*, Elsevier, Brussels, 1985, p.18.
35. Quoted Würtenberger, *op. cit.*, p.109.
36. Kurz, "Early Art Forgeries", *op. cit.*, p.87.
37. Quoted in Marijuissen, *op. cit.*, p.18.
38. F H Taylor, *The Taste of Angels - A History of Art Collecting from Rameses to Napoleon*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1948, p.269.
39. Würtenberger, *op. cit.*, p.109.

CHAPTER. 4

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

During the eighteenth century Holland remained a country which harboured forgers and their works, whose activities now extended to the reproduction of the styles of the great Dutch masters of the 'Golden Age' of the seventeenth century. Previously, these works had not been commonly forged, for reasons which will be discussed in the chapter on collecting. This was remedied now with a vengeance, Kurz observing that "More or less intentional imitations of the Dutch masters of the previous century are the most widely spread of eighteenth century fakes". (1)

Houbraken wrote at the beginning of the eighteenth century that he found it "intolerable that people should be pestered with copies and daubs masquerading as originals, which everyone is then supposed to admire" (2), whilst the writings of the essayist and moralist Justus van Essen of some decades later, give an extensive overview of the malpractices then frequent in the Dutch art trade. In a series of letters in *De Hollandsche Spectator*, in 1734, he described and decried these activities. Among the practices listed as very common are the passing off of copies as originals, the addition of fraudulent signatures, and the provision of false pedigrees for pictures. (3)

Kurz notes a widespread technique of this time which van Essen omits; namely, the embellishment of genuine pictures, early seventeenth century landscapes in particular, with additions such as figures and cattle so that they would pass for the work of other artists. One painter who apparently specialised in this kind of fakery was Robert Griffier, of whose work Johann van Gool, writing in 1751, stated: "I have seen paintings by Ruysdael into which this Griffier had inserted figures and horses which he copied so cleverly and deceptively after Wouwerman that eminent connoisseurs believed them to be originals by that master and even bought them." (4)

Stechow, author of the standard work on Dutch landscape painting, has some further observations on the practice of adding signatures or otherwise passing off works for other than they were. He has argued that regarding Dutch works of the seventeenth century, "there are many forged signatures, designed to make purchasers accept a copy or a forgery as an original work", and that "simple mathematics are sufficient to prove that the deletion of the genuine signatures of smaller masters has produced a vast number of apocrypha of the greater ones". No theory of "survival of the fittest" whereby the work of lesser artists became more readily discarded or unacknowledged, he argues, could account for the very small number of extant signed paintings by artists such as Jan Coelenbier, François Knibbergen and Johannes Schoeff, who were all talented imitators of the style of Jan van Goyen. Further, since there is only one known painting signed by the Haarlem painter Joost de Volder, a contemporary of van Goyen, Stechow questions how many pictures now attributed to van Goyen or Salomen van Ruysdael might in fact have been painted by this almost unknown, but considerably talented artist. He also wonders on the fate of "the innumerable copies after seventeenth-century Dutch masters" which Josef van Bredael painted in 1706 for the art dealer Jacob de Witt, and those by the industrious Cornelis Vermeulen (1732-1813), which were auctioned in Dordrecht after his death. (5)

Similarly, by the early eighteenth century, numbers of paintings by Nicolaes Maes, Ferdinand Bol, Govert Flink, Aert de Gelder, Gerard van Eeckhout and other Dutch masters had become transformed into works supposedly by Rembrandt. (6) This should not come as a surprise, since by this time Rembrandt had replaced Giorgione and Dürer as the most sought after artist, with collectors avidly pursuing his paintings, drawings and unknown states of his etchings. (7) Numerous drawings with added signatures were frequently passed off as his work, many of which are now in the Munich print room, having been originally brought together under the name of Rembrandt probably in the eighteenth century. According to Kurz, a considerable number of these are partly falsified originals, forgeries and doubtful pieces. Many have been retouched and provided with dates and Rembrandt's 'signature'. Apparently, the 'Munich forger' added the signatures to help authenticate his hetero-

geneous materials, and was particularly careful to match the writing with the original drawings. Unfortunately, Rembrandt rarely signed his drawings, and when he did do so it was for some particular reason. (8)

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Dutch landscape painter Aelbert Cuyp (1620-91), virtually forgotten since about 1670, was again becoming popular, especially in England. Works with any similarity to his style began to be attributed to him, presumably often fraudulently. Reiss, in his study of Cuyp, writes that when "he remained comparatively unknown, there was no reason to attach his name to pictures with which he had no direct connection", but when "during the second half of the 18th century, the demand for his work began to grow, similarities were found in many paintings of his time and his alleged oeuvre was steadily increased by spurious means." It would be impossible, he states, to list all the painters who at some stage have been confused with Cuyp. (9) Modern fabrications, too, were common, with Abraham van Strijs (1753-1826) and Jacob van Strijs being among the successful deceivers. (10) This is indicated in a letter of 1797 by the Dutch flower painter P J Thijs, in which he complains that "a certain Marneffe always has a good supply of paintings by Cuijp which - between you and me - are painted by van Strijs". Marneffe was also apparently responsible for employing the Antwerp restorer and painter Regemorter, who worked in his house "manufacturing" works by Ruijsdael, Pijsnacker, Both, and other Dutch artists. Thijs concluded his letter by deploring "the fact that honest people should be taken in by them". (11)

In France, the eighteenth century saw forgery of Poussin become prevalent. Blunt states that "It has long been recognised that a number of false Poussins were on the market by the second half of the eighteenth century". (12) As with Rembrandt and Caravaggio, the works of contemporary imitators and followers were often subsequently passed off as the work of the master. On his death in 1665, Poussin left only a relatively small number of paintings. His reputation increased in the following century, and with this went a steadily increasing demand for works by him, which the number of pictures available on the market was quite insufficient to satisfy. The result was that the works of imitators began to take on new identities through the interventions of dealers. Blunt has observed that "the process of transforming good

imitations into originals was carried out on such a scale that the entire production of certain painters such as Karel Philips Spierinicks and Andrea Podesta vanished, to reappear with new attributions to the master whom they had imitated in all sincerity". Similar fates probably overtook other close associates of Poussin. For example, Blunt observes, no paintings by Pierre Lemaire, who accompanied Poussin when he visited Paris in 1640, can be traced. (13) Other Poussin forgeries centre round the works of Claudine Bouzonnet-Stella, a niece of Jaques Stella (1598-1657), one of Poussin's few friends. She was a skillful engraver, and on her death her works went to a cousin, Michel de Masso, who was also an engraver. Blunt argues that de Masso, and his brother Jean, a painter, may have been involved with supplying at least some of the forgeries of Poussin's paintings. "The main activities in this field", he writes, "occurred about the middle of the eighteenth century - to be precise between the years 1756 and 1771 - and they were undoubtedly connected with the works inherited by Michel de Massio from Claudine Bouzonnet-Stella". (14)

More generally, the Comte de Caylus noted in his *Lecture on Drawings* (1732) that:

The great number of originals in this genre [drawings] of which every collection, in rivalry with others, claims to possess a considerable part, is proof of the quantity of copies. However, if one will consider that the fewer operations for the copyist, the easier it is for him to arrive at a perfect imitation, one will no longer be surprised at this quantity of copies and will admit that since so many skillful men have been fooled on the originality of pictures whose execution is much more difficult because it is more complex, there is all the more reason for one to be fooled by drawings. (15)

In Italy, too, the forger's art continued apace, even though its former preeminence in the field was increasingly challenged as art faking became truly international. (16) The Italians themselves were now more rarely the target of frauds, with most of their fabrications going outside the country. One of the areas where there is a substantial amount of information is the forging of sculpture, particularly of the antique type. In this period the English were one of the main markets for such productions, as they were also for

paintings. James Barry observed in a letter from Rome to Burke in about 1770 that:

As the English have much money to lay out in 'virtu', and have, perhaps, a greater passion for the ancients than they have, generally speaking, judgement to distinguish between them, those in whose hands they fall here, and to whom their commissions are sent, take care to provide heads with bodies and legs, and *vice versâ*. Fragments of all the gods are jumbled together, legs and heads of the furies and the graces, till ... a monster is produced, neither human nor brutal. (17)

However, not only were the English the frequent recipients of spurious works, British nationals within Italy also played an active part in the acquisition and production of false antiquities and other art objects, and in the duping of their fellow countrymen. One of the most notorious of these expatriates was Thomas Jenkins (1772-98), who operated in Rome. Nollekens wrote of him that:

he followed the trade of supplying the foreign visitors with intaglios and cameos made by his own people, that he kept in a part of the ruins of the Coliseum, fitted up for them to work in slyly by themselves. I saw 'em at work though, and Jenkins gave a whole handful of 'em to me to say nothing about the matter to anybody else but myself. Bless your heart! he sold them as fast as they made 'em. (18)

Nollekens himself also collaborated with Jenkins, "putting antiques together", his job being "to match the pieces" as well as he could and to clean them. (19) But the British expatriates were only part of a much larger, and primarily indigenous, practice of deception. Cunningham, writing in the early nineteenth century, complained that:

In this kind of jugglery the Italians excel all mankind - they gather together the crushed and mutilated members of two or three old marbles, and by means of a little skill of hand, good cement, and sleight in colouring, raise up a complete figure, on which they confer the name of some lost statue, and as such sell it to those whose pockets are better furnished than their heads - especially our English 'cognoscenti'. It is indeed wonderful with what neatness and elegance those practiced imposters make up a work for sale; all fractures and patches and joints are concealed under a coat of yellowish colouring, which seems the natural result of time - and the rejoicing virtuoso treasures up in his gallery another legitimate specimen of the wonderful genius of Greece! (20)

This endemic practice was one which seems apparently often to have involved, in some way or other, Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692-1779), who virtually controlled the antiquarian and scholarly world in Rome for more than half a century. According to Haskell and Penny, "he was suspected of being *tant soit peu fripon*, of charging extortionate prices, and of giving his enthusiastic endorsements to evident duds". It was an often repeated opinion, they state, that,

Cardinal Albani is in our days the restorer-in-chief of Antiquity. The most mutilated, disfigured, incurable pieces are through him given back the flower of youth, *nova facit omnia*; the fragment of a bust which, even if it were whole, would have been *una testa incognitissima* to all the antiquarians receives from him both a new life and a name which indelibly settles its destiny. (21)

Necessarily, the services of sculptors had to be obtained to carry out these reconstructions. One of the Cardinal's most important protégés involved with this task was Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, who by the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century had acquired international fame as the leading restorer of antique sculpture in Rome, where he played a central role in the close community of artists, patrons, agents, amateurs and literati involved with the feverish antiquarianism which dominated the age. (22)

In the introduction to the second part of his three volume *Raccolta d'Antiche Statue*, published in 1769, Cavaceppi warned against the imitations, pastiches and deplorable restorations of other artists, and the malpractices of dealers, who through selling fakes amassed fortunes. (23) He warned that medals and small objects were especially easy to imitate, and therefore recommended the buying of marble sculptures instead. But even these, he stated, could be faked - insignificant fragments could be extensively restored, parts of different statues could be put together to make up a new work, and modern Renaissance pieces copied after the antique could be damaged and then restored in the antique manner. (24) Whilst in the same volume he was quick to point out his own honesty and stated that he was not ashamed of any of his own dealings, Picon notes that he and his assistants did in fact "manufacture an alarming number of forgeries (including inscriptions) in

his vast studio", and that "To this day, it has often proved difficult to distinguish between these remarkable fabrications and his straightforwardly restored works or his accomplished and remarkable pastiches". (25)

However, it was not only sculpture which was extensively forged. The Abbé Richard gave an interesting account of forged drawings and attempts to pass them off in eighteenth century Siena. In that city, he noted:

There exists ... several collections of original drawings by Beccafumi and other Sienese painters; and on the strength of this it often happens that collections are offered for sale to strangers passing through the town; but these are generally nothing more than drawings done recently by clumsy hands, copied from the best known pictures and monuments in the churches of Siena. A poorly dressed man, with a sword at his side, comes to offer them at a very high price, assuring you that necessity alone forces him to part with them, and that he would rather let a stranger have them at a modest price, than sell them to his fellow-townsmen, to whom he does not wish to reveal his poverty. All these dealers call themselves knights, and pretend to be related to the greatest families in the place; but in general one need put no more faith in their genealogies than in the authenticity of the drawings they offer. Some of them, too, bring bronzes, worn medals, coins and all sorts of old rubbish, with which they succeed, by dint of persistence and lying, in catching the ignorant traveller, who thinks it fashionable to collect such objects, though they are generally of no value at all. (26)

Faked paintings also seemed to have been in over-generous supply, with Rome, "the artistic capital of the world", becoming "such a spurious market that French collectors would have little to do with Italian painting", at least until 1797-1799 when they occupied Rome and plundered what they wanted. (27)

The English, however, continued their involvement with the Italian market, which remained one of their main sources of spurious art. Some of the most famous tirades against the practices of forgers and dealers, there and elsewhere, are those of William Hogarth. While he had a very definite personal interest in opposing foreign imports, nevertheless he seems to have had a fairly factual basis for his attacks. In an edition of the *London Magazine* of 1737, for example, he virulently condemned the "picture-jobbers from abroad", and "their trade of importing, by ship-loads, Dead Christs, Holy Families, Madonnas, and other dismal, dark

subjects, on which they scrawl the names of Italian masters, and fix on us poor Englishmen the character of universal dupes". (28)

Yet, with paintings and drawings, as with sculpture, the English were again themselves often implicated in the production of these lamented foreign works. For example, Smith mentions in his *Nollekens and his Times* (1828) that when John Barnard expressed surprise that Nollekens did not pay sufficient attention to his collection of Italian drawings, Nollekens replied: "Yes, I do, but I saw many of them at Jenkins's at Rome, while the man was making them for my friend Crone, the artist, one of your agents." (29) Commenting on this episode, the Redgraves (1866) sadly observed that "Perhaps it would be difficult to name a more fertile field from which successful fraud has reaped its large ill-gotten gains than these 'drawings by the old masters'." (30) Nollekens's own involvement in the trade in forgeries has already been mentioned.

Pye (1845) noted that in the early part of the reign of George II, there was a profusion of "'original copies', made abroad and at home, which found their way into collections as the works of certain great artists, whose names appear to have been luxurious appendages, indispensably necessary, in one way or the other, to the mansions of the wealthy" (31), whilst Rouquet, writing in 1755, dryly observed that "the cabinets of the virtuosi contain nothing but foreign pictures, which are generally more considerable for their number than for their excellence". (32)

Similarly, James Barry, the painter, in his *Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England* (1775) wrote of the "Artful men, both at home and abroad", who, availing themselves of this passion for ancient art, vended "in the name of those great masters, the old copies, imitations, and studies, of all the obscure artists that have been working in Italy, Flanders, and other places, for two hundred years past" (33), while in *Arnold's Magazine of the Fine Arts*, in 1831, the "flagrant impositions ... practiced half a century ago by the picture-craft upon English connoisseurs as would hardly now be credited" were outlined. These included "monster Parmegianinos, horrific Sebastian del Piombos, hideous Domenichinos,

appalling Rubenses, spectre Guidos, assassin-like Caravaggios, and dismal Rembrandts", which were "knocked down at five hundred guineas a head". (34)

The general concern felt within the British art establishment about the valuing and collecting of both foreign and old art, at the expense of contemporary British works, was amusingly dealt with in a song written by the Rev Dr Franklin, first chaplain to the Royal Academy. The members clearly could not be disinterested in the observations. Titled *The Patrons*, it included among its verses:

When good Master Christie tricks out his fine show,
All is not pure gold which there glitters, we know;
But with pompous fine titles he humbugs the town,
If the *names* are but foreign, the trash will go down:

For this purpose, some shrewd picture-merchants, they say,
Keep many a good Raphael and Rubens in pay;
And half the Poussins and Correggios you meet
Were daub'd in a garret in Aldersgate-street:

There with pencils and brushes they drive a snug trade;
There Ancients are form'd and Originals made;
New trifles are shelter'd beneath an old name,
And pictures, like bacon, are *smoked* into fame. (35)

Some interesting observations on works manufactured 'at home' were made by Desenfans, a noted collector, who wrote in 1799:

Many pictures have been made to acquire the appearance of age, even to a complete deception: and I remember, at the commencement of my collecting ... having purchased some: they were offered at a price which induced me to buy; and as the very canvas on which they were lined, to prevent their falling into decay, appeared old, whatever uncertainty I might have been in as to their originality, I had not the least doubt as to their antiquity.

I sent for a picture-cleaner, who made use of spirits of wine, and, in a moment, that which he worked upon was totally ruined ... which made the cleaner say, those pictures had been in the 'Westminster oven'.

He then informed that there was ... in Westminster a manufactory where several persons were employed making copies, which, after having been soiled with dirt and varnish, were thrown into an oven built on purpose, and moderately warmed, where, in the course of an hour or two, they became cracked, and acquired the appearance of age and a certain 'stoicity' the pictures I had bought did not possess, which made me conclude they had not been baked enough.

I will venture to assert that many of our superficial connoisseurs

have been caught, as I have been, with this snare, and have preferred to the best modern productions of the Westminster oven. (36)

Genuine works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seem to have been few in most British collections in the late eighteenth century, and it has been observed that the typical London sales between 1760 and 1792 "featured a collection of overpainted, dishonestly attributed daubs, among which a masterpiece might pass unnoticed", with great names being "bandied about with great abandon". (37)

Even Reynolds (1723-92), the first President of the Royal Academy, foremost artist of his day, and a major collector, did not avoid being taken in on numerous occasions. Richard Payne Knight, the English connoisseur, commented that:

We are aware, indeed, that even the best artists are not always the least fallible judges in their own art; of which Sir Joshua Reynolds was a remarkable instance. No unfledged peer or full-plumed loanjobber was more liable to be deceived, even in those branches of the art which he professed most to admire; false Corregios, false Titians, and false Michael Angelos swarming in his collection. (38)

On Reynold's death, it was announced that he had possessed seventy Van Dycks, fifty-four Corregios, forty-four Michelangelos, twenty-four Raphaels and twelve Leonardos. (39) But William Buchanan noted at the beginning of the nineteenth century that "Before the late revolutions on the continent of Europe had taken place, few genuine pictures of the Italian school were to be found in this country" (40), and Reitlinger has stated that in 1800 there were only two genuine Leonardos in England. (41) Similarly, the important nineteenth century German art historian G F Waagen, in his *Works of Art and Artists in England* (1838), wrote of the collections formed by the end of the eighteenth century that in them, "We, indeed, often find the names of Raphael, Correggio, Andrea del Sarto, but very seldom their works ..." (42) If such deceptions were possible on Reynolds, then the frauds perpetrated on the the large body of much less sophisticated collectors can be presumed to be extensive indeed.

Useful information is also available on more specific incidents of forgery in Britain during the eighteenth century. For example, Walpole,

in his famous *Anecdotes of Painting*, noted that Sebastiano Ricci (1659-1734), who came to England in about 1712 and remained for some years, excelled particularly in imitations of Paul Veronese, many of which he sold for originals. A fuller account of this artist and faker is given in Vertue's *Collections*

Of Sebastian Richi. When in England he did many workes for the Duke of Portland, and was much encouraged and employed by him, Ld. Burlington and others. At the same time was one Casini a painter in England. They finding pictures of several masters, or Coppys, or imitations antiquely painted, were daily sold to noblemen for great prices, and that their own works new done were not equally valued nor payd for, as they deserved, in proportion, they together contrived to paint pieces in the manner and Taste of several ancient masters, and pass'd them on the collectors here at high prices which succeeded well. (43)

About four decades later, in 1746, the Italian artist Canaletto (1697-1768) also came to England, in the hope of gaining commissions and sale of his work in the country from which his best patrons had come (war by that time having stopped most English from visiting Venice). According to a note by Dayes, of about 1800, the visit was inopportune for some picture dealers, who therefore combined to discredit the artist. Trading on Canaletto's great popularity with collectors, they had accumulated stocks of copies of his pictures which they desired to dispose of as original works.

They carried their assurance so far as to deny that Canaletto was the person who painted his pictures at Venice, that is to say on his arrival in London; and when, by the provocation, he was tempted to sit down and produce some, to convince the public, they still persisted that the pictures now produced were not in the same style; an assertion which materially injured him for a time and made him almost frantic. By this scheme they hoped to drive him from the country, and thereby to prevent him from detecting the copies they had made from his work, which were in great repute. (44)

Two artists named Harding and Bodin were very likely responsible for some of these numerous Canaletto forgeries. (45)

In an attempt to limit some of these abuses, Hogarth was instrumental in 1734-35 in the passing of a copyright act which for the first time in England gave certain rights and protection to engravers. This stated:

Whereas, divers persons have by their own genius *invented* and engraved ... *historical* and other prints ... and there have been *base copies* made of them, to the great detriment of the inventor:
It is enacted, That any *designer* shall have the copyright of his design (whether *engraved by or for him*), and a penalty is laid on all who shall pirate the whole or any part of the *print*." (46)

Whilst the primary concerns of this legislation lay beyond the area of forgery, aspects of such fraudulent practices did fall within its scope, and the artist was at least nominally given some protection against fraud. (47)

Nevertheless, even after the Act was introduced, Hogarth's work was still often pirated and forged, with Smith, the biographer of Nollekens, believing that "in no instance has the name of a Painter been so freely used as that of Hogarth. His reputation has become public property and is considered fair game ..." Artists "now rarely mentioned" whose "performances have been elevated by the second-rate picture dealers and brokers in old panels, as the work of Hogarth", included Mercier, Van Hawkin, Highmore, Pugh, and "that drunken pot-house Painter the younger Hemskirk". (48)

The same author accuses Samuel Ireland of raking up many wretched prints - "the vilest of the vile, being totally destitute of either talent or wit" - which until his inclusion of them in his *Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth*, "no collectors admitted the originals into their portfolios as the work of Hogarth". (49)

Finally, it should be noted that a further extension of forgery occurred in the eighteenth century as a result of the widening of the field of artifacts taken inside the boundaries of art. Especially important were the series of great archaeological discoveries, which created new areas of interest for the scholar, the collector and the forger. During the second half of the eighteenth century, for example,

both Pompeii and Herculaneum were excavated, and, according to Borrelli, "simultaneously the first forged Roman paintings appeared, utilizing some antique elements". One of the notorious participants in these new developments was Guiseppe Guerra, a pupil of Solimena, who successfully sold seventy-two forgeries to the Jesuits in Rome. (50) Beginning also in the eighteenth century, in certain Italian regions such as Apulia, Latium and Tuscany, there grew up "a veritable industry devoted to the fabrication of minor objects of art", particularly 'Etruscan' and 'Greek' vases and 'Hellenistic' terra cottas. (51)

At this time, too, the art of ancient Egypt became an area of activity for the forgers, with copies and variations of Egyptian bronze statuettes being produced in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Kurz has written that "As Egypt was then a very remote country and no systematic excavations were made before Napoleon's expedition, the objects offered to those interested in Egyptian art and culture were of a rather dubious character." (52) Because knowledge of this area was very poor, forgeries were easy to manufacture and pass off. It was in the nineteenth century, however, that most Egyptian fakes were manufactured. This is dealt with in the next chapter.

---0---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. O Kurz, *Fakes*, Faber & Faber, London, 1948, p. 38.
2. S Schüller, *Forgers, Dealers, Experts*, Barker, London, 1960, p. 148.
3. F H Taylor, *The Taste of Angels - A History of Art Collecting from Rameses to Napoleon*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1948, pp. 255-258; Kurz, *Fakes*, 2nd ed., Dover, New York, 1967, p. 324.
4. Kurz, *Fakes*, 2nd. ed, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
5. W Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, Phaidon, Oxford, 1966, pp. 3-4.

Stechow does not indicate whether these 'adjustments' date from the eighteenth century or later, but presumably their origins at least are from this period.

6. F Arnau, *Three Thousand Years of Deception in Art and Antiques*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1961, p. 48.
7. O Kurz, "Early Art Forgeries: From the Renaissance to the Eighteenth Century", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. CXXI, Jan. 1973, p. 81.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 89, note 50.
9. S Reiss, *Aelbert Cuyp*, Zwemmer, London, 1975, p. 214.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Quoted in Arnau, *op. cit.*, p. 301.
12. A Blunt, "Poussin Studies XIII: Early Falsifications of Poussin", *Burlington Magazine*, CIV, Nov. 1962, p. 486.
13. *Ibid.*
14. A Blunt, "Jaques Stella, the de Masso family and falsifications of Poussin", *Burlington Magazine*, 116, 1974, pp. 744-51.
15. Quoted in E G Holt (ed.) *A Documentary History of Art, Volume II - Michelangelo and the Mannerists, the Baroque and the Eighteenth Century*, Doubleday, New York, 1958, p. 327.
16. Kurz, "Early Art Forgeries", *op. cit.*, p. 87.
17. *The Works of James Barry*, vol. 1, p. 71, London, 1809 - quoted in J Pye, *Patronage of British Art*, Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, London, 1845, p. 215.
18. Quoted in R Wittkower and M Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists*, Norton, New York, 1969, p. 205.
19. *Ibid.*
20. A Cunningham, *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1830), quoted in C A Picon, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi: Eighteenth Century Restorations of Ancient Marble Sculpture from English Private Collections*, exhibition catalogue, Clarendon Gallery, London, 1983, p. 16.
21. F Haskell and N Penny, *Taste and the Antique - The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981, pp. 85-86.
22. Picon, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
24. S Howard, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi: Eighteenth Century Restorer*, Garland Publishing, New York, 1982, p. 148.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Putting complete forgeries aside, this whole area is one where it is necessary to ask just to what extent a work which has been restored, rather than deliberately constructed from numerous disparate pieces, is to be considered an original piece. Whilst it can never generally be clear how extensive reworking has to be before the original substance of a work is transformed so much that its original conception and substance is lost - Cavaceppi, in theory but not in practice, thought that at least two-thirds of an antique, including the most important parts, should be extant before it should be restored (Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 149) - it must nevertheless be accepted that after a certain amount of such completion a work can no longer validly be viewed as original. Whether or not it is to be seen as a forgery of course depends on how it is passed off. This is a concern equally relevant to paintings, other art objects, and furniture.

26. P Misciattelli, "Aspects of Sienese life in the eighteenth century", in *La Diana* (no date), quoted in J F Joni, *Affairs of a Painter*, Faber & Faber, London, 1936, pp. 342-43.
27. G Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste - The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices 1760-1960*, Barrie & Rockliff, London, 1961, p. 10.
28. Quoted in Pye, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-8.
29. Quoted in R Redgrave and S Redgrave, *A Century of British Painters* (1866; second ed. 1890), Phaidon, London, 1947, p. 7.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
31. Pye, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
32. M Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England*, London, 1755, p. 22.
33. Quoted in Pye, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
34. Quoted in Redgrave and Redgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
35. Quoted in J T Smith, *Nollekens and His Times*, 2nd ed., Henry Colburn, London, 1829, Vol. II, pp. 153-54.
36. Mr Noel Desenfans' *Plan ... to preserve among us, and transmit to posterity, the portraits of the most distinguished characters & c.*, London, 1799 - quoted Pye, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-3.

37. C P Darcy, *The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Lancashire 1760-1860*, Chetham Society, Manchester, 1976, p.124.
38. Quoted in M Clarke and N Penny (eds), *The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1982, p.101.
39. Reitlinger, *op. cit.*, p.9.
40. W Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, London, 1824, vol.2, p.375.
41. Reitlinger, *op. cit.*, p.4.
42. Quoted in Pye, *op. cit.*, p.30.
43. Quoted in G F Hill, "The Nobleman and the Forger", *Burlington Magazine* XII, 1907, p.42.
44. Quoted in W T Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England 1700-1799*, vol.1, London, 1928, p.114.
45. Whitley, *ibid.*, p.117.

Forging of Canaletto's work continued also in the following century. S C Hall, founder of the *Art Union Journal*, claimed in the 1830s or 1840s to know of an oven in Richmond where eighty "Canalettis" had been "baked". (A P Oppé, "Art", in G M Young (ed), *Early Victorian England 1830-65*, Oxford Univ Press, London, 1934, vol II, p.115)

46. Quoted in Pye, *op. cit.*, p.42.
47. Pears notes, however, that in the eighteenth century "the law proved quite incapable of dealing with the difficulties of attribution", which was the most notable area of abuse. The law, he states, could cope with "such abuses as puffing, or the bidding-up of pictures by having accomplices placed in the audience", but "authenticity was not susceptible to legal reasoning". This was made apparent in the decision of *Jenwardine vs Slade* of 1796 [2 Esp 572 1796]. The case involved two pictures which had been sold as originals but which later were claimed to be copies. The judge, Lord Kenyon, stated that:

"It is impossible to make this the case of a warranty. Some pictures are the work of artists for centuries back, and there being no way of tracing the picture itself, it can only be a matter of opinion whether the picture in question was the work of the artist whose name it bears or not ..."

D Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, pp.65-67.

48. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp.346-47.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 348.
50. L V Borrelli, "History of Falsification", *Encyclopedia of World Art*, McGraw-Hill, London, 1961, vol.V, col.337.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 338.
52. Kurz, *Fakes*, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

CHAPTER 5

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In Britain during the nineteenth century the consumption of art forgeries was probably more extensive than in any other country, though, as in the eighteenth century, the actual objects were often constructed abroad and then imported. In these circumstances it is not surprising that there should have been continuation and extension of earlier concerns. As in the previous century, the discussions were sometimes not disinterested, aiming at encouraging interest in contemporary paintings rather than old ones. Nevertheless the extent of art faking truly seems to have been great, and the writings of the time probably give an adequate reflection of its volume and type.

At the beginning of the century, Richard Payne Knight, whose judgement on the collection of Reynolds has already been noted, railed against "the successful impositions of picture dealers, the dupery of collectors, and the quackery of both" (1), whilst in 1807 the painter John Opie, in a Royal Academy lecture, condemned "the vast and continual influx of old pictures into every part of the kingdom, more than nine-tenths of which, to the eye of true taste, offer nothing but a battered mediocrity, or worse, bad originals, and bad copies of bad originals, smoked, varnished, and puffed into celebrity by interested dealers and ignorant connoisseurs". (2)

Some twenty years later, in 1827, William Ford of Manchester, in his notes on the leading collectors of that city, somewhat maliciously pointed out the frequent frauds which they had experienced at the hands of dealers. One J D Ashworth, for example, a particularly zealous collector, "suffered probably more than any other through the Rascally Conduct of that class of the profession, very justly denominated Picture Jockeys", while William Townsend, who had "long been known as one of our most spirited collectors", was also unfortunately known as "one of those who have suffered most by the rascally part of the

profession ... " (3)

Occasionally, however, redress was to be had. Edward Gray, for example, a wealthy London merchant, in 1817 won £10,000 damages from Gwenapp, a Bond Street dealer, who had sold him "demonstrably spurious works of art at outrageous prices". (4) And one picture dealer at least was very critical of the activities of some of his colleagues, and was keen to encourage a sharper discrimination amongst the collecting public. In a handbook of 1828, Thomas Winstanley wrote that he was:

particularly desirous to remove the false and delusive character from those Pictures which are constantly shown in this country as the works of Raffaello, of Corregio, of Titian, of Rubens, or of any other great Artist, whose name gives a high rank in Art to whatever it can be justly attached, but which Pictures are perhaps no better than spurious copies, or the works of Scholars or Imitators of these great painters. (5)

It was with regret that Winstanley recorded that many 'splendid collections' had been purchased abroad by the efforts of cupidity and ignorance, which when sold would not produce the expense of conveyance and importation duty. He noted that:

Many a boasting adventurer has found himself grossly deceived by fancying he possessed the finest works of the great Italian and Spanish masters, which have turned out to be fraudulent copies; and it would be an endless as well as an ungracious task to point out how many have been the dupes of, and consequently sufferers, by the iniquitous system of fraud and deception, carried on by the artifice of dishonest and unworthy dealers in virtu, both at home and abroad. (6)

One of their sources was the copies and imitations of "those laborious German Artists" who filled Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and whose works were frequently sold for genuine Italian pictures, whilst a "still more dangerous source of Copyism exists among the modern Italians themselves, for the purposes of fraud and deception". These later works, in particular, were to be "always carefully avoided at any price, for the possession of these trickeries cannot be desirable". (7)

In the year after the publication of Winstanley's work similar sentiments were expressed by another important dealer, John Smith, who



attacked the "numerous self-styled connoisseurs, who have great success in the selling of pictures, but who, having neither esteem for the art nor regard to their own reputation, make no scruple to take advantage of the inexperience, and to impose on the credulity, of purchasers". (8)

He outlined some of the dangers to which collectors were exposed. Of the "various deceptions and manoeuvres of designing dealers", the most common was the addition of the name of a first-rate master on a work by an imitator, or on a copy frequently painted on a canvas or panel, with seals and documents attached, and disguised in dirt and varnish. It was also alleged that amateurs were frequently invited to inspect cases of pictures supposedly recently imported from the continent, and that through the lulling of suspicion, often by the provision of respectable but spurious corroborative documents, the dupe in full confidence was induced to buy "a Van Stry for a Cuyp; a Begyn for a Berghen or Both; and a Camphuysen for a Paul Potter; or the works of any other imitator or analogous painter, for those of the first-rate masters!"

Other artful methods of deception included the entrapping of unwary bidders at auctions, and the planting of old or purposely dirtied pictures at brokers' or similar shops where the vendors pretended to know little about their wares. However, for Smith, those duped by the latter practice had "scarcely a right to complain", when they were mistaken in their bargain hunting. (9)

Another clutch of condemnations and warnings is found in writings from the 1840s. For example, in 1844, Anna Jameson, the important Victorian writer on art, condemned the "quackery and ignorance" where genuineness or attribution were concerned. It must be taken for granted, she wrote, that "in many cases, a Titian, a Paul Veronese, etc. means simply a Venetian picture, of the style and time of Titian or Veronese". (10)

A further disclosure and rejection of such over-generous attribution is made in an article in *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal* of June 1845. The author of this piece stated that a visitor to many of the public and private galleries, both in Britain and on the Continent, could not fail to be surprised at the number of 'original' works to be found there. "There are", he notes, "very few collections which do not boast either

of a 'real' Claude, Rafaele, Rembrandt, Rubens, Dolce, Caracci, or Corregio", and continued that it is "well understood that by far the greater number of these pictures are spurious - either copies from the undoubted works of the masters to whom they are attributed, or successful imitations of their manner by inferior and modern artists". (11)

In the following year a very similar view was expressed by T H Fielding in his book *The Knowledge and Restoration of Old Paintings: The Modes of Judging Between Copies and Originals, etc.*, which was intended to assist both the professional and amateur by pointing out those areas where caution was necessary in the purchasing of old paintings. Referring to "the endless cargoes which are constantly arriving from Holland, Germany, Italy & c. & c.", he condemned "the trash that is too frequently brought over" in them. His advice on the necessity of caution, he argued, was to be readily gathered from the fact that

whatever the subject of an old picture may be, whether belonging to the highest department of art, or merely a representation of the humblest specimens of still life ... every picture is accredited to the highest names in that department, and, to such an extent is this carried, that amateurs and sometimes artists are astonished at the unbounded numbers of these so called first rate productions ... (12)

Whilst the great artists thus appeared to have had super-human powers of application, he dryly observed, the more minor ones were seen to have had very little ability, "so few are the paintings to be found with their names attached". (13) We have already noted this point particularly in relation to seventeenth century Dutch landscape painting and Poussin.

Books such as Fielding's which attempted to refine the tastes and develop the knowledge of amateur collectors seem to have been all too necessary, as a review in the *Art Union* in 1847 makes clear. In this, "An exhibition of Works of Ancient Masters (so-called)" in Manchester, was declared "a lamentable display of mistakes". If ten out of two hundred works were to be taken away, it was stated, the one hundred and ninety remaining would not be "worth half the value of the frames in which they are contained". In conclusion, it was earnestly hoped that

the manufacturers of Manchester would not subsequently be "the victims of vagabond picture dealers, as they have been". (14)

These hopes, however, were to prove to be substantially ill-founded, as similar criticisms were to be raised ten years later regarding many of the contents of the important Manchester Exhibition of 1857. In his article on this in the *Quarterly Review*, A H Layard noted that no less than twenty-two pictures were attributed to Raphael. He appreciated that generally the question of attribution was a delicate one, and that it "would be but an ill return for the liberality of the owner who had opened his gallery to the promoters of the Exhibition" to point out that many of the pictures on display had no claims to the reputations that had been placed upon them, or that they were palpable forgeries or works of such inferior painters as to be scarcely worthy of notice. Nevertheless, he continued, because the ignorant would be liable to be misled or disillusioned by these works, he thought that they should have been declined for the exhibition.

Layard also extended his essay to include a general discussion of contemporary forgery, observing that "The manufacture of pictures has of late years been carried to an extraordinary extent, and is leading to very mischievous results". He noted that whilst a few years previously it had been the works of the Italian Eclectic School - including Carraccis, Guidos, Guercinos, and Domenichinos - which had "flooded the market", and were to be "found in abundance in almost every collection, small and great, in Europe", it was now the early Italian and Flemish schools which were in demand, with the result that "the ingenuity and skill of the Italian artist and copyist" was "exerted to the utmost to furnish the required supply". As usual, the frauds were either effected by "the conversion of genuine pictures by one master into spurious pictures attributed to another", or by "entire forgery". Thus, "pictures of the Cremonese, Veronese, Vincentine, and Lombard schools, or of those of the March of Ancona, the Legations, and Umbria" were "converted by wholesale into productions by Gian Bellini, Mantegna, Leonardo da Vinci, Luini, Pietro Perugino, and other favourite and highly prized masters. (15)

The most successful forger connected with the extensive production of spurious Raphaels, according to Layard, was "one Micheli, a

Florentine who succeeded in deluding some of the best judges of art". (16)

We have already seen that from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards condemnation was heaped upon those collectors who favoured foreign 'old masters' to the detriment of contemporary native painters. Much of the detailed information available on art forgery comes from writings whose basic purpose was to encourage interest in modern British art, rather than in antique imports; the essays of Hogarth, Barry and Rouquet are obvious examples of these. Whilst initially such appeals and warnings were not very successful in changing patterns of patronage and collecting, some significant developments in this direction had taken place by the middle of the nineteenth century. During this time "frenzied propaganda" was being directed at the commercial middle class to persuade its members to favour contemporary paintings rather than old ones. One of the main contributors to this cause was the aggressive *Art Journal*, which, in order to frighten the new collectors away from the latter pictures, continually published material highlighting the fraud and forgery surrounding the 'Old Masters'. This campaign seems to have had some success, since in 1857 the editors of the *Art Journal* gloated that they had "lived to see the fulfilment of our dearest hopes - Art patronage diverted from (so-called) old masters into the healthy channel of contemporary art". (17)

Lady Eastlake, the eminent writer on art and wife of Sir Charles Eastlake, President of the Royal Academy and Director of the new National Gallery, also wrote enthusiastically that "one sign of the good sense of the *nouveau riche* consisted in a consciousness of his ignorance upon matters of connoisseurship", this leading him to seek articles "fresh from the painter's loom, in preference to any hazardous attempts at the discrimination of older fabrics". (18)

However, this expectation of safety and reliability in the market of modern works was quite naïve, for soon forgeries of the work of living or recently deceased British artists became very common. For example, in the second edition of his *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable* (1845), C R Leslie complained of artists being employed to finish paintings left incomplete by the death of their author, such practice having resulted in some of Constable's sketches being "finished into

worthlessness". (19) But still more injurious to the artist's reputation, he complained, were the "entire forgeries" which had been made of his works, "multitudes of these" having been seen by Leslie, who was "astonished that their wretchedness should impose upon purchasers".

(20) Leslie's son continued this surveillance, and wrote in 1896 that "from the quantity of works sold and exhibited under the name of Constable, I should not be surprised if the number of forgeries now greatly exceeded that of his genuine pictures". Similar references to "sham Constables" are to be found scattered through the diaries of the 1860s and 1870s of Constable's son, Charles Golding. (21)

More generally, a contributor to the *Magazine of Art* in 1881 observed that "The works of modern painters are also forged in considerable quantity", supporting this statement by noting that, amongst others, "It is well known that many forgeries of the work of the elder Linnell [1792-1882] are in currency". (22)

The faking of the work of this artist is of further interest in that one of the few reported English law cases on art forgery is concerned with a copy of "a certain large and valuable picture" by Linnell which had been signed with the artist's name by a dealer called Thomas Closs. At the Central Criminal Court in 1857 the jury found that Closs, "being a dealer in pictures and being a person of fraudulent mind and disposition",

unlawfully, wilfully, and wickedly did procure and have in his possession for the purposes of sale a certain painted copy of the said picture, on which said painted copy of the said picture was then and there painted and forged the name of the said J Linnell. And ... that the said T Closs, well knowing the name of the said J Linnell so painted upon the said copy to be forged, did then and there ... unlawfully, deceitfully, wickedly, and fraudulently offer, sell, dispose of, utter, and put off to ... H Fitzpatrick the said painted copy of the said original painted picture with the name of the said J Linnell so painted and forged thereon as aforesaid ... for a certain large sum of money, to wit, the sum of £300, to the great damage and deception of the said H Fitzpatrick, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, and against the peace of our Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

After all this, however, counsel for the accused objected that the counts disclosed showed no indictable offence and the case was appealed.

It was subsequently held that there was no forgery, a forgery having to be of some document or writing. However, it was accepted that such passing off of a spurious object as a genuine one could be a cheat at common law, although in this particular case the conviction was not sustained. (23)

Another example of forgeries of modern works is disclosed in a letter to *The Connoisseur* from Whitworth Wallis of the Birmingham Art Gallery, who stated that during the past fifteen years he had seen "some hundreds of 'duffing' Cox's" [David Cox (1783-1859)] in sale rooms, private houses, and in the possession of dealers. The sale rooms of provincial towns were said by him to "teem with forgeries of this character after Cox and other artists". (24)

However, whilst art forgery was apparently endemic in Britain during this century, it was, unsurprisingly, not restricted only to this country. Both the manufacture and trading of spurious works were spread across Europe, and by this time even elsewhere, although the particular interests were not always those which found favour in Britain. For example, Fielding, quoting from the "*Moniteur des Arts*" (no date), noted that whilst

Paris may be said hitherto, by comparison with London, to have escaped [the] epidemic for the youthful antiquities of bronze and marble ... she is devoured by the forgers of middle age antiques. It is notorious with what skill and impudence certain cabinet-makers manufacture chairs, tables, and foot-stools of the fifteenth century. (25)

The field of Medieval ivory carving was renowned for its abundance of forgeries and copies; the fabrication of pseudo-Gothic ivories assumed such extensive proportions in the nineteenth century that "a kind of nihilism began to reign among collectors and connoisseurs". (26) Rather than distinguishing imitations from genuine pieces, the situation had become such that the task was to ferret out genuine works from the mass of fakes. One of the authorities on the subject, Raymond Koechlin, thought it necessary to catalogue the French Gothic ivories whose existence could be traced back before the start of the nineteenth century, for after that time forgeries of this type began to appear in abundance. (27)

A similar situation existed with Italian Renaissance sculpture, especially terracotta portrait busts. Those whose provenance could not be traced backwards beyond the middle of the nineteenth century came to be treated with the utmost caution and suspicion. This wariness resulted mainly from knowledge of the activities of the Italian sculptor Giovanni Bastianini (1830-68), probably the most expert and prolific producer of pieces of this type - Kurz calls him "the true genius among forgers" (28) - who was effectively involved in manufacturing forgeries from about 1850 to 1867, when the real nature of his production was uncovered.

The story and life of this artist is one of the most popular in the literature on art forgery, as his career and early death lend themselves to romantic and tragic interpretation. A man of obvious talent, he seems to have been somewhat naïve in his cooperation with the dealer Freppa (though he was surely not the "simple-minded peasant boy, ignorant, unquestioning, and poor", though with a "quite phenomenal sense of form" (29), which his uncritical apologists have made him out to be). Whilst it is no doubt something of an overstatement to write that "the fruits of those years of patient, arduous, and ill-paid toil" of Bastianini "may be seen in every museum of Europe, for there is scarcely one that cannot show some bas-relief, or some portrait-bust, ascribed to one of the great masters", but really from his modern hand (30), nevertheless, he was certainly very prolific.

Two of the most impressive of his works are the busts of Savonarola, the late fifteenth century Italian religious zealot, and of the poet Benivieni. The *Savonarola* was one of the most convincing he produced, deceiving more experts than any other. In a manner typical of the terracotta work of Bastianini, after it had been completed the lower part was deliberately broken and repaired in plaster, so as to give added authenticity. It was then pigmented and distressed by Gaiarini, a specialist in this work, and planted in a villa at Fiesole from which it was bought by a Florentine dealer for 650 francs. In 1864 it was resold for a much greater sum. (31) It was, however, the fierce controversy over the origins of the bust of Benivieni, which occurred after its purchase by the Louvre for 13,000 francs and its exhibition in Paris in 1867, that was to lead to the exposure of its real author. This was

followed by the sculptor's rapid decline in health and death soon after.

But whilst Bastianini was a central and prolific producer of forged Florentine portraits, not all of those made in the third quarter of the nineteenth century can be attributed to him. According to Pope-Hennessy, "Historical busts in particular must have been turned out under other auspices as well", some definite examples being the famous terracotta busts of Lorenzo il Magnifico. (32) Similarly, Kurz says that "Bastianini was by no means the only forger of Quattrocentist terra-cottas working in Florence round the middle of the last century". On the contrary, he argues, it is quite likely that many dealers in that city at this time employed sculptors to produce 'antiques' for them. (33) More specifically, the part played in both the manufacture and marketing of forgeries by Francesco Lombardi, a goldsmith, jeweller and art dealer who died in 1868, remains to be investigated. Pope-Hennessy speculates that "On circumstantial grounds there are reasons for suspecting that he was one of the principal instigators and one of the main vendors of forged sculpture". (34)

Paintings and other works of art were also still produced in Italy in numerous quantities in the nineteenth century. J F Joni (b. 1865), both painter and restorer, observed in his autobiography that "forgeries are produced to some extent everywhere, and in certain quarters on a grand scale (so at least I have been told)". (35) Whilst the majority were apparently poorly painted - Joni "used to hear that there were a whole lot in circulation that were absolute rubbish, and could not possibly have taken in even the most inexperienced buyer" - nevertheless, they apparently managed to find purchasers. (36) But Joni himself was not innocent of deception, as he makes apparent in his memoirs. Although he (unconvincingly) denied that he was a forger, nevertheless, from his own admissions it is clear that he was not infrequently less than scrupulous in selling his own works. (37) He appears, in fact, to have been one of the great fakers of his time, whose productions became so well known that he was often accused of painting genuine older works. Pictures could become almost unsaleable when Joni's involvement with them became known, even in cases where he had behaved quite scrupulously in their restoration or sale. He noted how if he had really been the author of all the pictures attributed to

him, then he "should have to be an Argus with a hundred hands, instead of a hundred eyes". (38)

Whilst his autobiography is mainly anecdotal and covers a wide range of subjects, many of which are unrelated to his artistic activities, it nonetheless remains one of the most explicit documents in terms of the actual technical production of deceptive paintings. He described, for example, the development in the studio where he spent his early years a method of producing a patina on the gold of frames and tabernacles to gave them an antique effect. This patina was made from "well-ground soot, tumeric, very light chrome yellow and a little gilding gesso, all mixed with a little arabic gum". The gold was then glazed with a solution made from keeping the stumps of Tuscan cigars in water for a few days, and the patina was fixed by adding "a coating of spirit varnish, glazed on with tumeric, pyric acid and a little Prussian blue". Then ashes which had been washed in water to get rid of the potash were toned with raw umber and mixed with Canada balsam. This substance was applied to the surface and wiped with a damp sponge, so that the mixture remained mainly in the hollows. Next, the surface parts were polished with a cloth, and finally "the parts that had been most worked upon were touched up with a piece of pure wax, to modify the effect once more". According to Joni, "By this time the illusion was almost perfect". (39) He also tells how, on a copy of a triptych by Benvenuto di Giovanni, he for the first time imitated the fly-blown effect found on the original by tapping some colour of the approximate tone from a stiff-bristled brush onto the surface. The illusion, whilst not perfect, "was quite good enough for those days". (40)

He also described improvements in his technique, such as his method of imitating old surfaces, which he succeeded in reducing to a simple formula. "After applying the spirit varnish, and letting it dry well", he put on an "additional patina, which had to lie on the surface like a thin film of dust". He then "dipped a small wad of cotton wool in spirit, and lightly wiped it over the surface of the painting, so as to destroy its uniformity. In certain parts the spirit worked more strongly than in others, and the effect was rather deceptive". (41)

Techniques were also employed to produce deceptive cracks on the surface of paintings. After getting the surface on an early work to his

liking, Joni recalled how he gave it "a coat of oily varnish, so that the tempera painting, when it began to dry, developed a fine crackle". Later, with associates, he developed a way of cracking pictures which "looked really old". The method, according to him, was:

on a piece of linen, not too coarse (in fact muslin was the best for the purpose), you applied several layers of *gesso* for gilding, thick enough to make it of the same consistency as the early painters used in preparing their panels, and to allow the gold to be burnished where it was to appear as background or decoration. The canvas was then wrapped round a roller and rolled this way and that, until the proper crackle was obtained. When the painting itself had been done already, the following was found an even better method: we first damped the painting, and then with a pointed instrument, indicated all the cracks as we wished them to appear, not on the front, but on the back of the canvas; and then, by rolling the canvas backwards, we made the cracks open up on the front just where we wanted them. After that the canvas was stuck onto an old panel with strong glue, and the illusion was almost perfect.

A surface-patina, produced by the old method using Pink brown, raw umber and a little Indian yellow, was then applied, and the painting was fixed with linseed oil, copal resin and turpentine, rather than with spirit varnish. (42)

Outside Europe, one country which belatedly became host to art forgeries, but which was then to become more and more swamped by them, was the United States. It was during the nineteenth century, from the first decades onwards, that the first significant forgeries appeared in this part of the world. Constable notes that throughout that century "vast accumulations, largely worthless, were made". (43) For example, a considerable part of the one hundred and sixty-five paintings which were catalogued as by 'Old Masters' in the first Boston Athenaeum exhibition of 1827 were regarded, even by contemporary opinion, as being in reality copies or fakes, thus indicating "a flow of such into the United States". (44)

In an exhibition of 1830, again made up of paintings from private collections, there were included works attributed to Jordaens, Claude, Rosa, van Dyck, Canaletto and other great masters. However, the Committee of the Athenaeum carefully noted that they had "not undertaken in any instance to designate the names of the Authors of the works

ascribed to the Old Masters, but have invariably adopted the names indicated by their respective owners". This seems to have been appropriately cautious and discreet, since when some of the pictures were sold at auction in 1835 they achieved only miserable prices - two 'Rosas' and three 'Canalettos' together reaching only \$500. (45) Similarly, an exhibition of paintings assembled by J W Brett in 1833, which claimed to include works by Leonardo, Guido Reni, Dolci, Domenichino and Reynolds, is considered to have been mainly made up of copies. (46)

At about this time, too, Luman Reed, who was to become a major patron of contemporary American art but who began by buying 'Old Masters', was reported to have obtained mainly fakes or copies from Michael Paff, one of the first American art dealers. (47) Of greater discrimination was James Lennox, who was apparently highly suspicious of the old pictures being offered to collectors. Not wishing to be taken in by them, and thinking that there was little possibility of obtaining originals by artists of the past, he deliberately bought good copies of admirable paintings. (48)

By the middle of the century the importation of forgeries into the United States had clearly become very developed. One important commentator on this was the experienced Bostonian art collector James Jackson Jarves who, in an article reminiscent of those of eighteenth century England, wrote in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* that in Florence:

A speculator arrives and gives out that he is a purchaser of pictures by the wholesale ... He is not after good pictures but the trash that can be bought for the value of the wood in their frames. They are brought to him by wagon-loads. He looks at the pile, and makes an offer according to its size. In this way he buys several thousand daubs at an average of a few dimes each, spends as much more in varnish, regilding and a little retouching, and sends them to America where they are duly offered for sale as so many Titians, Vandycks, Murillos or other lights of the European School. One lucky sale pays for the whole lot. (49)

Understanding very well what was going on, Jarvis developed his taste in new, unexplored fields of painting, restricting his collecting activities to areas which were at that time still untouched by the

forger's hand. In 1861 he published a study, the first of its kind in the United States, which included advice on problems of authenticity and connoisseurship. (50)

Many others, however, were clearly lacking in such awareness and reticence, and because of this fell heavily in the market place. Constable notes that a typical example of such men, who were "apt to be wax in the hands of plausible agents and dealers", was Charles Sumner, a senator and one of the leading political figures of the age. From the middle of the century onwards he bought voraciously and without any real discrimination, first in Paris and then in the U.S. In his home country he acquired paintings "almost entirely 'Old Masters' carrying great names, bought from collections of no repute, or picked up from small dealers or junk shops, occasionally with the assistance of artists and restorers". His lack of judgement and the limitations of his acquisitiveness are apparent from the subsequent history of the 93 paintings and numerous engravings which he left on his death in 1874 to the Boston Museum. All of the paintings were exhibited that year at the Boston Athenaeum, but ominously it was announced that the Museum trustees wished "it clearly understood that they are in no way responsible for the attributions of the pictures to the painters mentioned in this catalogue". Ultimately, only 29 paintings and some of the engravings were retained by the museum, and of these only one of the paintings was found worthy of exhibition. (51)

A more ambitious later collection, but one which likewise included much that was of very limited worth, was that formed by Thomas B Walker (1840-1928), a lumber magnate from Minneapolis. It contained over 400 paintings, supposedly by 200 different artists, including attributions to Botticelli, Holbein, Titian, Tintoretto, Claude, Rembrandt, Rubens, van Dyck, Tiepolo, Constable and Turner. But this collection was no different from many others of the period, in which "the Old Masters was apt to be a synonym for, at best, mediocrity". A large proportion of the collection was later proved to be either school pieces, copies, imitations or deliberate forgeries, this last category including all of the so-called Constables and Turners. (52) As well as the paintings there was a collection of miniatures almost all of which were subsequently shown to be nineteenth century imitations.

Similarly, the collector E B Crocker of Sacramento, who is said to have "cherished the ambition of building up the finest collection of art in the United States", was most gullible and unfortunate in his numerous purchases. Most of the 750 paintings which he bought in Europe - mainly Germany - in the 1870s bore great names, including those of Memling, Bruegel the Elder, Dürer, Andrea del Sarto, Rembrandt, Hals and Rubens, alongside more secondary but still eminent ones, such as Teniers, Boucher and Jordaens. However, in reality the works were mostly examples of minor seventeenth century Dutch artists, or late eighteenth and early nineteenth century German ones. In all, Constable concludes, the collection was "much what one would expect from a credulous man in a hurry ..." (53)

There was no need, however, to go all the way to Germany or to Europe generally to be treated in this way. More local, all-American, frauds were readily available, as was made clear by a complaint in the *New York Times* in 1873 that:

No form of swindling has been more frequently exposed than that involved in the sale of worthless copies of good pictures at auctions, for prices immeasurably above their value... Exposures have appeared a thousand times in all the journals, but the vagabonds still find fools in plenty. never was there a time in the history of swindling in this city of New York when copies were sold in such numbers and with such audacity. (54)

Of the American artists, one of the most forged was John Trumbull (1756-1843), principally a painter of portraits and of incidents from the War of Independence. Sizer has noted "the huge corpus of forgeries" pretending to be this artist's work. In all, he estimated (1952) that the number of misattributed and spurious works was somewhere in the region of one thousand items, consisting mainly of pen-and-ink and sepia wash drawings and minatures, most of which are signed 'J.T.' in hands bearing no similarity with that of their supposed author. These were mostly produced in the early 1890s, probably in or near New York. (55)

Similar frauds also surround the work of Cornelius Krieghoff, one of Canada's most popular early painters, who was so frequently imitated that even before he died in 1872 it had become increasingly difficult to be certain that a 'Krieghoff' painting was original. Many of the paintings bearing forged Krieghoff signatures are of European origin,

mainly from Germany, Holland and Flanders. Watercolours bearing his forged signature are also very common, but Harper argues "so little documentary proof exists about any examples, that it has seemed prudent to question whether any authentic Krieghoff watercolours actually exist". (56)

More modern, especially French, paintings also became fashionable in the United States towards the end of the century and the supply of suitable forgeries duly followed. If a contemporary critic is to be believed, one of those most responsible was the French dealer Bernheim, who gave "many people an impression of great acumen", for he supplied "the whole of America with fakes of modern French painting". (57) For a period the works of Corot and the Barbizon School were in greatest demand. Whilst this group had been very prolific in its output, the supply of originals was ultimately not nearly sufficient to satisfy the demand. The late manner of Corot became "perhaps the most forged style of paintings in the history of art". (58) One flourishing manufactory of such works seems to have been in New York. (59) Other examples came from Europe, where both the reattribution of paintings to Corot, as well as the complete faking of them, was commonplace. Corot himself was partly responsible for the confusion over the authenticity of some of his works, and contributed to the great abundance of copies and forgeries, since he often idiosyncratically signed pictures which other painters had produced in his style. (60)

The paintings of Courbet were also often forged and exported to the United States. One known perpetrator of these was a young art student in Geneva called Delaunay, who sold unsigned fakes for between twenty and twenty-five francs to a dealer named Leclerc. The latter then signed them with Courbet's name and sent them to America. But like Corot, Courbet himself was responsible for what may be considered forgeries of his own work. According to a letter by his friend Dr Ordinaire (1873), after being introduced to "certain dishonest picture dealers" Courbet was given so many urgent orders that "unable to cope with them himself", he "had a number painted by Pata, by another young man, and a few by Marcel. He then added his brush-strokes and signed them". Other forgeries were also constructed in addition to and independently of these "factory productions", with one Cherubino being

said to be the principal author of the fakes "with which Paris and Belgium have been contaminated". (61)

Finally, as in the previous century, throughout the nineteenth century forgeries were also produced and sold beyond Europe and America. In Egypt, for example, the practice which had begun to emerge in the previous two centuries became greatly extended, with large-scale forging of antiquities occurring in the second half of the nineteenth century. The most common types were forged scarabs and *ushabti*-figures, many of which went to feed the demands of the new tourist trade. However, there also existed "a more limited but still extensive class of forgery of Egyptian antiquities of all kinds" which were "more cunningly executed and more ambitious in purpose, being intended to deceive the serious collector and wealthy patron". (62)

An important contemporary account of nineteenth century Egyptian forgery is given in A H Rhind's study *Thebes* (1862). It hardly needed to be said, he stated, that amongst the tricks practiced on buyers was the "concoction of spurious relics". However, the accomplishments of the ordinary *fellaheen* were usually only clever enough to take in the quite inexperienced. Their range, Rhind noted, hardly went beyond "the carving out of soft stone unwieldy imitations of large scarabæi; fastening up scraps of papyrus into the semblance of small untouched rolls; ... scratching a royal cartouch on an ordinary vase, or executing some of the similar small rogueries within the limits of their slight artistic ability". (63) Nevertheless, there were also "less patent deceptions" than these. He noted that:

Among the dealers at Cairo, some of whom it need hardly be said are Europeans and Italians, there are much higher flights. For example, such a thing is known as graving inscriptions, accurately copied from one set of viscera vases, on another that may not have had such an interesting feature, and whose value is accordingly increased fivefold. Bronze figures of deities of the rarer types are also subject to be multiplied with unimpeachable accuracy; and it is quite worth the while of neat-handed dealers to try this, or even to send the originals to Italy, where the art of casting after the antique is so well cultivated. (64)

According to Rhind, the "arch-forger" at Thebes was one Ali Gamooni, who could "turn his hand to most things, being one of those smiths who have never failed, since the days of Vælund downwards, to vindicate for members of the brotherhood the claim of many-sided ingenuity". Scarabs were his main manufacture, but he could also reproduce other types of relic, with "more elegant and well-finished descriptions" being within his range. He mostly used the same material as the ancients themselves: close-grained limestone which could easily be cut. After he had shaped and lettered it, a greenish glaze was applied by baking the piece in a shovel with brass filings. Working in this way, Rhind stated, some of Gamooni's copies were "singularly good; and as for his examples of the unimportant coarser sorts, which the old Egyptians with little care seem to have produced in the same manner, they are not to be distinguished from antiques." (65)

---O---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. M Clarke and N Penny (eds), *The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1982, p. 101.

Brigstocke states of one example of early nineteenth century picture dealers, the Scot William Buchanan, that he had "two particular personal qualities: an almost total ignorance about works of art, which enabled him to turn a deaf ear and blind eye to any criticism of his wares, and an utter contempt for his clients and indeed for picture lovers of every kind, institutional, aristocratic or nouveau-riche". (H Brigstocke, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade: 100 Letters to his Agents in London and Italy*, published privately by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1982, p. 11)

2. T Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974, p. 70.
3. C P Darcy, *The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Lancashire 1760-1860*, Chetham Society, Manchester, 1976, p. 134.

4. Brigstocke, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
5. T Winstanley, *Observation on the Arts*, London, 1828, p. IV.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
8. J Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, London, 1829, vol. 1, p. X.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Quoted in F Hermann, *The English as Collectors*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1972, p. 36.
11. *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal*, vol. III, June 21, 1845, p. 389.
12. T H Fielding, *The Knowledge and Restoration of Old Paintings: The Modes of Judging Between Copies and Originals, etc.*, Ackermann, London, 1847, p. VII.
13. *Ibid.*, p. VII.
14. Quoted Darcy, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
15. A H Layard, *Quarterly Review*, 102, 1857, pp. 181-84.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
17. F Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art - Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, Phaidon, Oxford, 1976, pp. 98, 140 and 208.
18. C L Eastlake, *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts - With a Memoir compiled by Lady Eastlake*, John Murray, London, 1870, p. 147.
19. C R Leslie, *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable* (1845), Phaidon, London, 1951, p. 279.

Similarly, the Redgraves note that when it seemed probable that the painter William Etty (1787-1849) would soon die, "his works were purchased with avidity, particularly by dealers. Some dozens of his studies from the life had been lined or laid down on panels, and various purchasers' names, mostly dealers, were chalked upon them as they lay in his then deserted studio in London." Etty died soon after in York, and when these works - "mere Academy studies" - came forth, "they were fitted with backgrounds and dressed up pictorially for the market, certainly not, however, by the hand of the master". (R Redgrave and S Redgrave, *A Century of British Painters* (1866; second ed. 1890), Phaidon, London, 1947, p. 8)

20. Leslie, *ibid.*, p. 279.

21. The Tate Gallery, *Constable - Paintings, Watercolours and Drawings*, London, 1976, p.195.
22. A Bearer, "Remarkable Copies and Copyists", *The Magazine of Art*, 1881, IV, p.452.
23. Reg. v Thomas Closs, 1857. Dears and Bell 461, pp.1082-84.
24. W Wallace, *Connoisseur*, XII 186, July 1905, pp.55-56.
25. Fielding, *op. cit.*, p.37.
26. O Kurz, *Fakes*, Faber & Faber, London, 1948, p.162.
27. *Ibid.*

One of the manufacturers of these fake ivories was L Marcy, a "versatile artist whose superb pastiches of Gothic ivories, goldsmiths' work and ironwork wormed their ways into all the principal museums of Europe" in the 1890s. (C C O, Review of Kurz's *Fakes*, *Apollo*, 48, Oct 1948, p.95)

28. Kurz, *op. cit.*, p.148.
29. N Barstow, "The Romance of Art - The Forgeries of Bastianini", *The Magazine of Art*, 1886, V, 9, p.503.
30. *Ibid.*
31. It was purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1896 as a work by Bastianini for £328. (J Pope-Hennessy, "The Forging of Italian Renaissance Sculpture", *Apollo*, 146, 1974, p.258)
32. *Ibid.*, p.260.
33. Kurz, *op. cit.*, p.151.
34. Pope-Hennessy, *op. cit.*, p.248.
35. J F Joni, *The Affairs of a Painter*, Faber & Faber, London, 1936, p.340.
36. *Ibid.*, p.341.
37. Joni wrote how he had wanted to call his book *The Recollections of a Painter of Old Pictures*, but he did not because he could "imagine one of the many dealers, who have made their fortunes out of works of art, saying: 'Not old pictures, forgeries!'" But, he argued, they were not forgeries, since "an artist who creates a work of art of his own, in imitation of the style of an old master, is not a forger; he is at worst an imitator, and he is creating something of his own. And if he produces something that merely reflects the style of the fourteenth century, without following any particular

master, then it cannot even be called an imitation, it is something really and truly creative." (*Ibid.*, p.338)

38. *Ibid.*, p.336.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
40. *Ibid.*, p.161.
41. *Ibid.*, p.180.
42. *Ibid.*, p.297.
43. W G Constable, *Art Collecting in the United States of America*, Nelson, London and Edinburgh, 1964, p.91.
44. *Ibid.*, p.13.
45. *Ibid.*, p.14.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, p.26.
48. *Ibid.*, p.28.
49. Quoted *ibid.*, p.33.
50. *Ibid.*, p.35.
51. *Ibid.*, p.92.
52. *Ibid.*, pp.93-94.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.
54. Quoted in D L Goodrich, *Art Fakes in America*, Viking Press, New York, 1973, p.58.
55. T Sizer, "Col. John Trumbull's Works - A Final Report", *The Art Bulletin*, 38, 1956, p.114.
56. J R Harper, *Cornelius Krieghoff*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1979, pp. 165, 170 and 173.
57. Alfred Robaut, 1887. Quoted in F Arnau, *Three Thousand Years of Deception in Art and Antiques*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1961, p.280.
58. Minneapolis Institute of Art, *Fakes and Forgeries* (exhibition catalogue, 1973, catalogue entry 152.
59. Constable, *op. cit.*, p.73 - referring to an account in F J Mather's *The Collectors*.

60. Arnau, *op. cit.*, p. 280.
61. G Mack, *Gustave Courbet*, Hart-Davis, London, 1951, pp. 323-24.
62. British Museum, *Forgeries and Deceptive Copies* (exhibition catalogue), London, 1961, pp. 4-5.
63. A H Rhind, *Thebes: its Tombs and Their Tenants Ancient and Present*, London, 1862, pp. 251-52.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 253-54.

CHAPTER 6

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By the beginning of the twentieth century it can reasonably be argued that the United States, only recently introduced to the world of art forgery, had taken over from Britain and the rest of Europe as the major dumping ground for internationally produced forgeries of many types. Evidence supporting this position is provided by both popular and more serious writings and statements of the time.

In 1906, for example, it was written in *New England* magazine that "unblushing but not unvarnished counterfeits, products of the fake factories of Europe which work overtime these days to supply the demands of this country" were regularly being "knocked down" at auction. (1) Two years later, Sir Purdon Clarke stated that twenty-seven thousand paintings signed 'Corot' had to date passed through the customs house of New York. (2) This artist's supposed works clearly seem to have been continuing favourites with the American public; writing in 1959, Schüller stated that it had been estimated that over 100,000 purported Corots had reached the United States in the previous twenty years. (3)

In the same year as Clarke's statement, 1908, Samuel Swift commented in *Harper's Weekly* that:

Deceptions ... are a source of profit to dishonest dealers, and they enable a certain number of industrious painters in Paris and New York to make a modest but comfortable living. Even Brooklyn has, or had, its salaried art forger, who, for a fixed sum ... turned out a stream of monotonous imitations of Diaz, Corot, Inness, Wyant, Homer Martin and other important and saleable paintings. For a man to be worth to his employer forty dollars a week, at this obscure and nameless toil, year in and year out, implies an unfailing market for his daubs. And he is, or was, only one of an army of subterranean art workers here and abroad. (4)

In the following year, in the *Daily Consular and Trade Report* of 24 November, 1909, issued by the U S Department of Commerce and Labour, the

inexperienced collector was warned against the frauds perpetrated by dealers in old silver, china and period furniture "throughout the United Kingdom and continental Europe". Consul Maxwell Blake was reported as stating that "the United States is reputed by the well informed to harbour more "artistic atrocities" that were purchased as genuine than any other country in the world, and we may even see a greater influx of pseudo works of art to American shores unless these frauds are detected by government experts or rejected by public taste." He estimated that generally "nothing but the veriest trash is to be found in ninety per cent of the antique shops of Great Britain and the Continent!" (5)

Ninety per cent was also the figure quoted in an article in *Good Housekeeping* in February 1906 as the proportion of objects sold as antiques but which were in fact bogus. However, whilst this may be a plausible estimate, it is more difficult to take seriously the allegation in the same article that almost every dealer in antiques "has in his back room or basement anywhere from half a dozen to a score of workmen busy manufacturing antique furniture". (6) But whatever the actual percentage, the anonymous dealer and faker quoted in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1929, surely was accurate enough in his conclusion that for many reasons not a great deal of fine antique furniture could possibly have been on the market in the previous fifty years or so. (7)

In a 1914 edition of *McClures* magazine, it was commented that art forgery had become a "factory industry", because it was "so much safer than highway robbery, so much more lucrative than safe-blowing, so much more respectable than coining false money, so considerably ignored by the District Attorney and the police" (8), and in an entry in his *Diary* in March 1918, the famous art dealer René Gimpel, after noting the sale of "A fake Gainsborough, a *Blue Boy*" in the Hearn sale in New York for over \$32,000, wrote that "It's harder to sell a genuine painting" (9)

New York seems to have been the main repository in the United States for fake art; in 1922 an issue of *Arts and Decoration* reported fears from various quarters that the port of this city had become "permanently chartered in the art world as a sort of heavenly home for much flotsam and jetsam, a haven for the vicarious da Vinci", with the consignment for that year being of record tonnage. (10) The accuracy of this judgement was confirmed by F J Kracke, the U S Appraiser at New York, who stated

in 1926 that "The proportion of counterfeits in the mass of supposed antiquities is so large" that he was "continually amazed at the picture it presents of American gullibility". According to Kracke, over two-thirds of all purported antiquities entering the United States were imported through New York, and of these, he concluded, more than two-thirds were fake. (11)

Two further official statements are worth considering. In 1928, the U S Appraiser's Stores, a government agency, estimated that of supposed antiques imported from England, ninety per cent were genuine, but only fifty per cent of French ones were such, whilst ninety per cent of Italian 'antiques' were fakes (12); and in 1937, the United States Treasury Department estimated that in the twenty-eight years since the implementation of the Morgan Act of 1906, which exempted imported antiques from duty, it had lost \$500 million in taxes through allowing spurious modern works to enter as antiquities. It was thought that between seventy-five and eighty-five per cent of all 'antique' imports could not possibly be original works. (13)

Whilst Rush observes that the "era of the 1920s was probably the heyday of faking" (14), this is very doubtful. There is no real reason to believe that matters did not get even more serious in the following decades; enough evidence exists to show that the period after the Second World War has probably seen the production and distribution, at least in the United States, of as many, if not more, fakes than any other. For example, in 1957, John Rewald, an important American authority on the work of the French Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, wrote an article exposing "the vast underground industry which manufactures faked modern pictures and sells them with tremendous success in America". He pointed out that "the general public does not yet seem sufficiently alerted to the ever-growing number of forged paintings, mostly originating in Europe for transatlantic export, which are now flooding the European and American markets". The greater part of these modern forgeries, he thought, were "deliberate counterfeits, more or less expertly done with the intention of deceiving the buyer". (15) Similarly, in 1966, though this time concerning the area of antique furniture, an antique-dealing correspondent of Rush's wrote of the "flood of fakes" at that time "being fostered off on a gullible naive

new-rich U S public". Reminiscent of Fielding's constantly arriving "endless cargoes" of fakes into England in the mid-nineteenth century, this "so-called antique furniture", he stated, was "still coming in by the ship-load". (16)

More recently, in an article in the *New York Times* in 1981, Robert Volpe, the detective in charge of art and antique investigations in the New York City Police Department, was quoted as stating that the black market in stolen and fraudulent art was enormous, involving hundreds of millions, or even billions, of dollars each year, and was "second only to narcotics traffic in size as a criminal activity". (17)

In the late 1920s the American artist George Luks, whilst visiting Pittsburg, derided the art collections of that city's millionaires, stating that if he walked through their mansions he bet he would find "fifty out of out of every hundred of the so-called master paintings fakes". His response was very reminiscent of that of modern painters in eighteenth and nineteenth century England; he urged American collectors to buy American art, exhorting them to "Buy paintings and hang them on your walls because you know the artist that did them". (18) But he should have known that such advice would not prove adequate protection against the fakers. Other artists at least knew this. In 1915, for example, Albert Pinkham Ryder wrote to one collector of his works that he was sorry to say that "a great many spurious Ryders have lately come on the market". (19) Also, several hundred forged works pretending to be by Ralph Blakelock had appeared for sale by the time of the artist's death in 1919. (20) These two painters have probably been the most extensively forged of all American artists. Speaking in 1956, Lloyd Goodrich, then Assistant Director of the Whitney Museum of American Art, informed a symposium on forgery in art and the law, that Ryder and Blakelock "have been so extensively forged that fakes now outnumber their genuine works by about 5 to 1." (21)

But forgeries of the works of other modern American artists were and are also commonplace. Goodrich stated at the symposium mentioned above that he personally had recorded about six hundred forgeries purporting to be by Winslow Homer, one of America's most popular painters. Further, forgeries of American artists as recent as Bellows, Demuth and Kuniyoshi were known. Also, according to Goodrich, a collection which

had included over a hundred false Sargents and "several hundred other dubious American works" had been sold at auction in New York. (22)

The works of Frederick Remington and Charles Russell, two of the most celebrated illustrators of the American West, have also been widely faked. One authority on Remington has stated that sixty per cent of the works inspected by him are fakes, whilst another specialist has estimated that there are about 3,000 casts in existence of Remington's famous sculpture *Bronco Buster*, although only about 380 genuine ones were made during the artist's lifetime. (23) A knowledgeable collector of Russell's work, F G Renner, by 1972 had recorded more than three hundred fake oil paintings, watercolours, and drawings supposedly by this artist. According to him, he was at that time receiving about one fake Russell a week for his examination and opinion. (24)

Overall, David Goodrich has concluded, "it is plain that a whopping number of pictures fraudulently bear the names of leading American artists". (25)

In the more anonymous area of traditional American folk art, the incidence of forgery seems to have risen sharply in the 1960s and 70s. According to the Curator of the Museum of American Folk Art in New York, Herbert W Hemphill Jr, fraudulent folk art pieces are to be found throughout the United States. Each area would appear to have its own specialisms, with, for example, paintings and carved wooden figures of saints being produced in New Mexico, while in Pennsylvania forgers concentrate on counterfeit fracturs. (26)

Whilst most if not all of the fakes after American artists probably originated in the United States, many of the other types of painting, and also numerous antiques, as already indicated, appear to have originated in Europe. More evidence of this, in addition to that given above, is available. In an article in 1906, for example, it was commented that "The mass of pseudo-antiques that gets home to America in the baggage of the tourist must be stupendous"; the origins of their wares, according to the author, were "the great factories of such things in Germany, Russia, Italy and France". (27) It may also reasonably be presumed that the abundant supply of forged early Netherlandish panels, reported by Friedländer as issuing from Belgian workshops in the decades before the 1940s, were at least mostly destined for the United States.

(28) More specifically, in June 1923 the *New York Times*, in a report of investigations in Paris, revealed that over the previous twenty years a ring of forgers had, through the agency of the art dealer George J Demotte, infiltrated many millions of dollars worth of fake Gothic works into American museums and collections, including the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the collections of John D Rockefeller Jr and Mrs Gardner of Boston. This information came from one John Vigoroux, who had been Demotte's business manager for twenty years. Vigoroux also admitted to having sold many fakes himself, including twenty 'Gothic' pieces to the Metropolitan Museum. (29)

One of the main European centres for the construction of fakes seems to have been France. One of the most notorious art forgery scandals there occurred in the 1930s and again centred on the paintings of Jean François Millet. In 1921 the artist's grandson, Jean Charles Millet, along with an art dealer named Caseau (or Cazot) who was already in the business of producing false Millets, collaborated in the construction and passing-off of more of these, and also forgeries of the work of Corot, Diaz, and Degas. Caseau primarily concentrated on the painting side, while Millet signed and dated the finished works and provided them with falsified documentation. Under French law the relatives of deceased artists were considered as competent and qualified experts in their work, and so the accreditation provided by the younger Millet carried significant weight. The pictures were therefore easily sold in both Paris and London, bringing their makers considerable gains; the Thomson Galleries in London parted with \$40,000 to Millet, and twenty 'Millets' were sold to the Musée Barbizon, amongst others. The fraudulent output of Caseau and Millet in their nine years activity until their unmasking in 1930 seems to have been immense; in the *Chicago Tribune* it was stated that Millet had confessed to selling over 3,600 forgeries, while other accounts put the figure as high as 4,000. (30) Millet is reported as having stated, "You can sell anything to Americans. They know nothing about art ... All you have to do is ask a fabulous price". (31)

Since 1945 the production (or at least the uncovering) of forgeries in France appears to have been particularly extensive. According to Schüller, after the second world war "French paintings were

counterfeited in such numbers that even pictures known to be genuine were sometimes scrutinised with distrust", with the "mass production of 'masterpieces'" threatening to undermine the prestige of art in general. (32) And in 1953, *Time*, reporting on the "outbreak of frauds that have plagued Paris since the war", noted that since 1948 six hundred counterfeit paintings had been reported to the police, while in the previous five years Paris experts believed they had uncovered at least 4,000 others that the police did not know of. The article continued that the forgeries were mainly sold to "unwary tourists from Latin America and the U S. Most of the time the fakes are incredibly crude, but sometimes the canvases are so clever that they defy even a shrewd buyer". (33) But it was not just from Paris that such productions emerged. There is evidence, for example, of a Lyon forgery gang operating in the early 1950s. It produced mainly imitations of the French Impressionists, which were disposed of in Belgium, Britain, and also Switzerland. In 1951, one of the gang's members, found in Switzerland in possession of thirty forged paintings, confessed to having sold about 600 forgeries in that country alone in the previous two years. (34) The problem of art forgery had apparently become so large in France by the mid-1950s that a specialised branch within the Sûreté was set up to tackle it. (35) One of the police's main areas of concern must have been forgeries in the style of Van Gogh - according to Schüller "the favourite artist imitated in the big Parisian centres of faked production" (36) - and another the mass of faked Utrillo paintings circulating at that time.

Utrillo's style has probably been the most imitated of all twentieth century painters. In 1959, four years after his death, over a thousand forgeries were recorded in the *catalogue raisonné* of Utrillo's complete works compiled by Paul Pétridés, and many hundreds if not thousands more seem to have been in existence. In his commentary, Pétridés alleged that this artist's work has been copied or forged almost as much as that of Corot (37) - a view supported by the 1960s forger Elmyr de Hory, who stated that as "Utrillo and Corot had been faked so much", he "never even bothered" with them. (38) Faked Utrillos were being produced at least as early as 1911, with the majority of them manufactured in Paris, Germany, and especially Zurich. (39)

One of those responsible for these fakes was the female painter Claude Latour, who in 1947 was convicted of "mass-producing" Utrillos and Picassos. She had been paid between a hundred and three hundred francs each for pictures which ultimately sold for up to 70,000 francs a piece. There must have been some consternation when Utrillo himself admitted to the court that he was unable in every case to distinguish the spurious from the genuine. Whilst he thought that in many cases Latour had been the author, he had to concede that he might have painted some of the pictures himself. (40) Other forgers included Jean Pinson-Berthet, "known as an especially successful fabricator of alleged 'Utrillos'". His works were said to be "masterly imitations", with experts sometimes acknowledging his pictures as genuine Utrillos whilst condemning originals as forgeries by Berthet. He was sentenced in his absence in 1952 to five years' imprisonment. Another perpetrator of such forgeries was a Parisian industrial chemist named Bergman, who was uncovered and arrested in the early 1950s; he was charged with forging the signatures of Utrillo and also Vlaminck onto about fifty pictures in the styles of these artists which he had had painted by an innocent professional copyist. It was thought that all of the works were intended for sale in the United States. According to one report of this incident, it was only "one of a number involving forged contemporary French paintings which have come to light in Paris since the war". Forgeries of Vlaminck and Utrillo were especially common because among well-known painters they were probably the most prolific in their output and therefore the safest to imitate fraudulently. (41)

Another uncovered French forger was Jean Pierre Schecroun, whose active period was in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and who had been an assistant to Fernand Léger. He worked in collaboration with others who would find out the particular artistic requirements and interests in different areas; Schecroun would then quickly fabricate the type of works identified as being in demand. Of necessity, he concentrated on watercolours, drawings and pastels, rather than oil paintings which took too long to dry adequately. Ultimately, he admitted to forging seventy-four works after numerous modern artists, including forty-one 'Picassos'; his output however was probably higher than this. At least \$200,000 were obtained for these forgeries by his associates, who

operated in France, England, Germany, and Switzerland. Schecroun was tried and convicted in 1962, and was sentenced to two years imprisonment. (42)

In 1957 the French police also discovered an extensive fraudulent organisation dealing in 'antique' wood-carvings and furniture. This supposedly supplied "almost the whole world with spurious works of art", the biggest markets being in America, Holland, Belgium and Germany. At this time the chairman of the Paris art dealers' syndicate disclosed that on evidence obtained by him and the police it was proved that over ninety per cent of all 'antique' furniture sold in the previous fifty years had been forged. (43)

Along with France, the other main European manufactory for forgeries in the twentieth century has almost certainly been Italy. Nobili, in his book *The Gentle Art of Faking*, published in English in 1922, commented on the "present flood of imitations" there, noting that "bas-reliefs and clay busts in imitation of renaissance work" were flourishing products of the Italian market. (44)

One of the earliest of the twentieth century statements on the forging activities in Italy was given by the Florentine art dealers themselves (although they do not call their productions 'forgeries'); in opposing a bill restricting the export of antiques, passed by the Italian Senate in 1903, they argued that

The advocates of the Bill ignore the fact that everything [sold by the dealers of Florence] is not the product of the art of the past, that innumerable objects have lain for years, for centuries indeed, despised, dust-bitten, and worm-eaten, until [the dealer] discovered them thus half destroyed, and restored them with his enlightened patience, supplying missing parts, polishing them up, completing them with fragments of other objects, and recomposing the whole in fashion so pleasing and artistic as to excite the fancy of the foreigner, who pays for such work with clinking gold. And they do not consider that behind the shop of the dealer, in his back room, no unskilled workmen but real artists attend to the delicate task of reconstruction and restoration. Nor do they consider that these fifty or more dealers give work to over a thousand such artists, and are a source of gain which percolates through the whole city. (45)

According to Kurz, these manufacturers produced "such thorough work and their products were absorbed so whole-heartedly by the collectors

and museums that the effect on the historical appreciation of Renaissance sculpture was almost disastrous." (46)

Arturo Calza, somewhat more flippantly wrote, on the discovery of X-rays:

Just when Italy is in crying need of reconstructing her prosperity in foreign trade, comes this discovery; and it only needed this to disable completely one of the most remunerative of Italian industries. If there was one branch of export trade that was kept really active and flourishing by us in these difficult times, it was that of the export of so-called old pictures, of those works which the genius of our race - surviving intact in the disciples of Leonardo and Titian - so abundantly supplied to meet the demands of the many thousands of people across the Atlantic, who wish to set up with a gallery of old masters ... (47)

Some of the best fabricators of this period are discussed by Nobili. These include Ferrante Zampini, "who must be credited with an unusual power of synthesis", and who was excellent in imitating the style of the Quattrocento. His works appeared on the market from 1904, where they were purchased for large sums of money (although the artist's "is own gains were but small"). (48) Another was Natali, a Florentine who was "a clever imitator of the Renaissance"; he showed "great versatility even when not imitating the old masters", and was "above all, a virtuoso - a true product of Latin facility". One of his bas-relief lunettes of the *Baptism* was bought by the Louvre as a work by Verrocchio, "at a larger figure than any other recent acquisition of this nature", and some of his imitations, at the time of Nobili's writing in 1922, were "still in undisturbed enjoyment of honour as Renaissance work in private collections". (49) Similarly, Bonafedi was "a painter possessing great facility in execution and uncommon versatility as an imitator". (50) Maskell, in an article of 1906, also gives the names of some "distinguished fabricators", including Marcey, "who was especially adept in the scientific mixture of the true and false", Mariani of Perugia, Danielli and Pietro Faentini. (51)

In Nobili's view, the Sienese had "for years held the privilege of being the strongest imitators of early Quattrocento work". This group included Joni (whom we have already come across in the discussion of late nineteenth century forgery), who, Nobili reports, along with others, had "unwittingly, deceived more than one connoisseur". (52) A

certain amount of naïvety is however displayed in this acceptance of the innocence of these imitators. Joni himself reports that he often said to Bernard Berenson, the great connoisseur of Italian painting, that he should like to sell his things "for what they were, on their own merit", so as to "cut out the possibility of others making illicit profits out of them". But when he did hold an exhibition of his works "in the antique style", bearing his signature and date, it was unsuccessful and few sales were made. (53)

For all of the success of the Sienese imitators, however, in Nobili's opinion their drawing was

too calligraphic, it reproduces too closely, namely, the forms of well-known originals, and this while the composition is not always free from plagiarisms that are too easily recognizable. Some of the later artists of Florence, and elsewhere, have broadened the technique, appearing less servile because better versed in the qualities of the old masters, and through this deeper insight their work is more convincing and synthetic. (54)

One of these Florentines was Ezio Marzi, "an imitator of the Dutch school", whose work, although supposedly never sold as antique, was said to have "penetrated into more than one collection, where it is held to be genuine and above suspicion". His 'Teniers', "now honoured as such", were many, and if Marzi was to have visited certain collections, according to Nobili, "he would have good cause to laugh in his sleeve." (55) Another Florentine of note was Professor Orlandini, who imitated ornamental sculpture of the Quattrocento "with capital results"; there was no one who could "turn out of the Fiesole stone an aristocratic-looking chimneypiece more closely resembling the work of Desiderio da Settignano". Although Orlandini's work was also said to have been sold as modern, Nobili lamented, perhaps mockingly: "alas, how many ornamental chimneypieces and would-be aged *lavabos* now decorating rooms, are Orlandini's work, although ostentatiously shown as pure productions of the Renaissance." (56)

The great, or at least most noted, Italian forger of the twentieth century, however, has undoubtedly been Aleco Dossena (1878-1937), who was called one of the "aristocrats among the forgers" by Max J Friedländer. (57) He produced work in marble, terra-cotta and wood, in

archaic Greek, Gothic and Italian Renaissance styles; in the words of Kurz, he had an "astounding faculty of assimilating the characteristics of different periods and artists". (58) Dossena said of himself that he "was born of our time, but with the soul, taste and perception of other ages." (59)

Born in Cremona, Dossena was trained by Monti in Milan, and seems to have set up practice in Parma before the First World War. His technique, according to Pope-Hennessy, was "bolder, less disciplined", than that of forgers in Florence. (60) He transferred his studio to Rome in 1918, and the greater part of his forgeries seem to have been fabricated there from this date until his exposure in 1928. (61) Dossena's activities in Rome were under the supervision of two dealers, named Fasoli and Palesi. According to their instructions, he produced works in the style of Giovanni and Nicola Pisano, Simone Martini, Vecchietta, Donatello, Mino da Fiesole, and Niccolo dell'Arca. (62) The most ambitious of these was a large relief the *Virgin and Child with Saints Elizabeth and John the Baptist*, signed 'Donatello'. (63)

One work, supposedly by Martini, sold to the Frick collection for \$225,000; a relief, *The Holy Family*, was bought by the dealer Durlacher in London for 3 million lire; and an *Athena* was sold for 30 million lire, to Jakob Hirsch, the New York and Paris dealer - it was subsequently bought in 1927 by Cleveland Museum for \$120,000 (64) Jandolo wrote of the *Athena* that, "It is a work of art perfect in every respect, equal to the *Apollo of Veii*, the *Charioteer of Delphi*, and the *Aegina* sculptures. It is enough to dumfound any connoisseur. The false patina is the finest ever seen, yellowish in colour, with traces here and there of a chalky deposit so hard as to be impervious to the sharpest steel." (65)

A wooden *Madonna and Child* in the style of Pisano was also sold to the Cleveland Museum of Art for \$18,000 in 1924. Kurz states that "Dossena's performance as Giovanni Pisano is remarkable. It is one of the rare cases in which a forger actually succeeded in catching the fundamental facts of an artist's personal style, together with an almost correct expression. If Dossena had limited his activities to this sculptor he would probably never have been found out." (66)

Another famous production of Dossena was the *Tomb of the Savelli*,

which appeared to be in the early Renaissance style of Mino da Fiesole; it was sold for 6 million lire, Dossena receiving 25,000 of this for his work. It was later acquired by Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1924 for \$100,000. According to Jeppson, "Within six or seven years Dossena's work penetrated the Western world's greatest museums and collections ... the *New York Times* estimated the American loss at \$1 million. European sales swelled this total to \$2,175,000." (67)

Dossena's uncovering occurred in 1928, and was of his own making. After being denied a loan by his employers to pay for the funeral of his wife, and with increasing awareness of the vast profits which they had been extracting from his work, Dossena, who had obtained for his work only the amount which modern productions commanded, disclosed that he was the producer of many sculptures hitherto accepted as ancient originals. While some authorities were prepared to give credence to his claims, most treated them with disbelief. The sculptor, however, produced proof in the form of photographs and sketches, and also allowed himself to be filmed at work by Dr Hans Cürlis, Head of the Berlin Institute for Cultural Research, who wrote of this experience that "The rarity of his achievement seemed to come with such ease that we only realised later that we might have been watching the reincarnation of a Renaissance or Attic master." (68)

Once it was accepted that Dossena was the author of many supposedly Greek and Renaissance sculptures his talent was initially greeted with public acclaim. However, the long-term valuation of his work has been mixed. Although usually highly praised for his ability, some harsh criticisms have been voiced. John Pope-Hennessy, for example, has argued that his busts "would deceive nobody today", and that both his portraits and his reliefs "fail as a whole to measure up to the estimate that has been placed on them". (69) He has stated further that "the respect that lends so many early forgeries some interest is conspicuously absent from the works produced by Aleco Dossena. How untalented and meretricious Dossena was can be seen very clearly in works that were not made as forgeries, that were ... produced between his exposure in 1928 and his death nine years later. Nor do they differ fundamentally from the works by him that were sold earlier in the century under other artists' names." (70) Nonetheless, it is without

doubt that Dossena has been one of the most successful and accomplished forgers, of those uncovered, of the twentieth century. (71)

Summing up the achievements of the modern forgers of Medieval and Renaissance sculpture, Kurz states that as artists they were, "on the whole, more efficient than the painters", partly because it was both easier and also not so necessary for the sculptors to damage and age their works artificially. "Apart from the discovery of the Dossena swindle", he argues, "only an insignificant number of such forgeries have been exposed up to now. This is not much better with paintings. But while only comparatively few of the flood of imitated pictures could hold their own beside the fine originals of the great museums, their sculptured counterparts are everywhere. They intermingle with the genuine pieces until true looks false and false look true." (72)

More recent Italian forgery cases have included that of a counterfeiting ring involved in manufacturing works signed with the names of Corot, Manet, Gauguin, Van Gogh and others. which was uncovered in Rome in the mid-1950s (73); an incident in 1974 when seven people were arrested and 4,000 paintings, including pictures allegedly by Goya, Renoir and Velasquez, were seized by Rome police (74); and a case in 1975 in which five people were arrested, and eleven more sought, by the Milan police after an investigation into an international ring of art forgers who were selling paintings both in Italy and abroad. Five hundred works were seized, including forgeries of Picasso, Kandinsky, Bacon, Ernst, Sutherland, Magritte and de Chirico. (75)

Again, it was the experience in Italy that Americans were the major customers for the fakes produced there. Nobili admitted this, and gave an explanation for it; "everyone knows", he stated, "how easily American collectors buy imitations for originals and how disgusted they are if the dealer honestly says that a certain work is an imitation". (76) Bernard Berenson, himself an American by adoption, was also aware of and not impressed by the actings of his fellow-countrymen. Gimpel quotes him as saying:

In Florence the Yankee becomes an art lover between a visit to a little girl and one to a little boy, a flourishing trade here. The middleman who deals in works of art follows close on the heels of the procuress; often they are one and the same. They invariably know how to find somewhere in the same town the twin brother of the picture admired in

the museum, and the American flings himself into this new kind of debauchery at fantastic cost. But there at least he isn't risking the dread disease; only the picture is contaminated! (77)

Gimpel himself knew well enough of the Italian swindlers. In his *Diary* entry of November 13 1922, he wrote that "An Italian dealer will show you two busts, pendants, and he'll admit that one of them is fake, a fact which is perfectly obvious. The one he'll sell you as a genuine antique is equally fake but less visibly so." (78) He also recounted how American collectors were "prey to the hugest swindle the world has ever seen: the certified swindle". Writing again in his *Diary*, this time in 1928, he observed:

Thirty years ago the American bought so many fake pictures that eventually he wanted authentications; expressly for him, experts were created and promoted; the dealer let the responsibility rest with all these irresponsible creatures, and the client no longer had anyone to whom he could appeal for justice. For instance, I went to see Bache, who pays enormous prices but has a Bellini, a Botticelli, a Vermeer of Delft, three old pictures which aren't by the masters. At Ernest Rosenfeld's, a profile in marble by a sculptor like Rossellino, but it is fake. The Detroit museum also has a fake marble bust bought by the deplorable expert Valentiner. All this is done in Italy. Americans have bought within a short period \$10 million's worth of pictures whose certifications are indefensible." (79)

Other countries, too, produced both forgeries and famous or notorious forgers during the twentieth century. Perhaps the most celebrated of them all was Hans van Meegeren, for many the architypal art forger, and one of the most written about. The story of this forger is well known, and only the main details will be repeated here. Van Meegeren was arrested by Dutch Field Security in 1945, and charged with collaborating with the Nazis by selling a painting by the seventeenth century Dutch master Vermeer to Hermann Goering. In order to counter the charge against him, he confessed to having forged the picture along with thirteen other works, mainly 'Vermeers'. Although his claim was originally treated with great scepticism, after he painted under close observation a work similar in style and technique to that which he had sold to Goering, the accusation of collaboration was withdrawn and substituted with one of forging signatures. It was readily accepted that Van Meegeren was the author of most of the pictures which he had

claimed as his own. Controversy however remained over two 'Vermeers': *Christ and His Disciples at Emmaus* and a *Last Supper*. The former work, when it first came to light in 1937, had been declared as outstanding by many major art historians, including the highly respected Dutch authority, Dr Abraham Bredius, who called the picture a "crowning achievement" and "the masterpiece of Johannes Vermeer of Delft". (80) It was bought by the Boymans Foundation for 550,000 gulden and exhibited in the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam. In 1938 it was included in an exhibition of Dutch painting; in a review in the *Journal of Art History*, it was stated that, "the spiritual focus of the exhibition, despite the distinguished works by Rembrandt, Hals, and Grünewald, is Vermeer's *Emmaus* picture". (81) With such a history behind it, it is understandable that this work was not universally or readily accepted as a modern forgery.

Although the scientific evidence which indicated that the *Emmaus* had been produced by the accused was accepted at Van Meegeren's trial, nevertheless for some years afterwards it was still being argued that this painting, as well as the *Last Supper*, were authentic Vermeers. It was not until 1968, after undergoing radio-chemical analysis, that the *Emmaus* was conclusively confirmed to be a modern production. (82)

Van Meegeren's initial success with his first major forgery, the *Emmaus*, was mainly the result of two factors. First, he was particularly careful in the technical construction of the picture, using only old materials and colours which would have been available to the artist he was forging, and in painstakingly developing a technique for artificially aging the picture in such a way that it would be impervious to the then used scientific tests of authenticity. Secondly, he was aware that there was a significant period at the beginning of Vermeer's artistic career to which no works could be ascribed. Art historians had postulated, on the evidence of the early *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, that these 'missing' works would be large paintings of religious themes, possibly influenced by the Italian Baroque artist Caravaggio; it was such pictures which were supplied by Van Meegeren. Once the *Emmaus* had been tested and accepted as original, the other works, less carefully executed, were fairly readily added to the oeuvre of Vermeer. Altogether, six 'Vermeers' and two 'De Hoochs' by Van

Meegeren are known to have been sold; these fetched 7,167,000 gulden, of which the forger is thought to have received 5,460,000. (83)

Almost as scandalous as the Van Meegeren revelations were those made at the trial of Otto Wacker in Berlin in 1932. Wacker was charged, along with his brother, with producing and distributing about thirty paintings supposedly by Van Gogh. Many of these had been authenticated as genuine by leading authorities, and even initially included in Jacob Baart de la Faille's 'definitive' *L'Oeuvre de Vincent van Gogh, Catalogue Raisonné* of 1928. (The Wacker 'Van Goghs' were subsequently labelled by him as fakes, although some were later 'rehabilitated' by him.) At the trial numerous expert witnesses could not agree on whether any, some, or all of the paintings were in fact forgeries. However, Wacker was convicted and sentenced to one year's imprisonment for persistent swindling. Both he and the public prosecutor appealed against this, and the whole case reheard, it lasting seven weeks; although the findings remained generally unaltered, it was found that Wacker's activities were more extensive than had appeared at first and so he was ultimately sentenced to one year and seven months' imprisonment and fined 30,000 marks. Several connoisseurs remained convinced of the authenticity of at least some of the paintings which Wacker had sold. (84)

Another investigation and trial in Germany, twenty years later, also created much embarrassment and public interest. This involved a restorer, Dietrich Fey, and his assistant, Lothar Malskat. Both men had worked together in restoring the remains of medieval frescoes in the Marienkirche in Lübeck, which had been uncovered when the church was burned out following an air raid in 1942. Their restoration was unveiled in 1951. The frescoes, which were inspected by the Federal Chancellor, Dr Adenauer, were called "one of the most important discoveries ever made in Europe" (85), and were considered by the National Curator of Sweden, Dr Berthelsson, to be "entirely unique ... to be found nowhere else in the world". (86). Hirschfeld, of the Federal German National Trust, saw the frescoes as "the most important and extensive ever disclosed in Germany ... one of the finest intact frescoes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries extant throughout western Europe", while Gräbke, Director of the Lübeck Museum, in a book

on the pictures stated that "Ideas hitherto current as to the original aspect of Gothic brick interiors will have to be revised in the light of the merits of the works here recovered." (87)

However, in 1952, Malskat, who felt cheated by Fey and unrecognised in his talent, announced that the paintings were in fact new and that the 'restorations' had no substantial basis. He subsequently also admitted that, acting under Fey, he had earlier forged medieval paintings in both Schleswig and Ratzeburg Cathedrals, and in other churches. At first he was not generally believed, and so in October 1952 Malskat instructed his lawyer to file charges against himself and Fey, further admitting to having forged and sold, under Fey's direction, about six hundred paintings, ranging from Rembrandts to Chagalls, and including works supposedly by Watteau, Corot, Degas, Renoir, Gauguin and Utrillo. Fey was then arrested, and seven paintings and twenty-one drawings in the styles of Rousseau, Vlaminck, Chagall and others were seized from his house. A committee of enquiry was set up to investigate the allegations. At first it was thought that the work in the choir at the Marienkirche consisted of restoration of traces of old painting, but it was eventually proved that everything was recent, with no medieval remains apparent. Malskat, by now a popular attraction and the subject of interviews and broadcasts, was arrested at the beginning of 1953. Both he and Fey were tried and found guilty of the fabrication of the Marienkirche's murals and also of forging about 2,000 paintings by 71 old and modern artists. In January 1955 Fey was sentenced to twenty months imprisonment and Malskat to eighteen. The legal proceedings, which lasted sixty-six days, were however, according to Schüller (who was conservator of the Marienkirche), "much criticised"; "The trial", he states, "certainly did not reveal the whole truth. Many of the remoter aspects of the case remained obscure." (88)

The role and qualifications of the art experts were severely damaged and brought into disrepute by these trials. Independently of these affairs, however, Gimpel for one was already wary of their pronouncements. In a Diary entry of 1929, he commented how the two million dollars which the Americans had spent on Dossena's fake marbles was "A laughable sum, compared with the amounts obtained by means of certificates given daily by German experts to German dealers. Just as

there were paper marks, so there are paper canvases, an easy way of bringing dollars into Germany." (89)

Other prolific post-war forgers who gained notoriety after being uncovered were David Stein and Elmyr de Hory. Stein's first success, in the early 1960s, was with forgeries in the style of Picasso and then Chagall. Using the profits gained from the sale of these, he moved in 1965 from Europe to the United States and set up in business in New York as an art dealer. Within five years he made almost \$1 million through producing and selling about two hundred forgeries of Matisse, Dufy, Van Dongen, Miró, Picasso, Derain, and Chagall. In 1966, however, his activities came under investigation and he was arrested at the beginning of the following year. The charges against him were limited to specimen ones concerning the forging of works of Picasso and Chagall, since these artists were still alive and could testify if necessary. Stein pleaded guilty to falsely representing a Chagall, a Matisse, and a Picasso, and to the counterfeiting the signatures of these painters, and was sentenced to two and a half to five years imprisonment. During and after the proceedings against him, Stein gained a certain popular acclaim, with complimentary articles written on his activities and even exhibitions of his work. (90)

De Hory was even more prolific and successful as a forger than Stein. A Hungarian by birth, as a young man he was a companion of Picasso, Vlaminck, Braque and Derain in Paris. Called "the greatest Art Forger of our time" by his biographer Clifford Irving (who was himself subsequently to become notorious with his faked biography of Howard Hughes), he produced about one thousand paintings and drawings between 1961 and 1967 which were attributed to artists from Modigliani to Picasso. The daughter of Modigliani, Van Dongen himself, André Malraux, and experts from the prestigious Parke-Bernet Galleries, all certified the authenticity of some of these forgeries. Altogether it was estimated that de Hory's works were disposed of for \$60 million. According to Irving, they were "sold by major art galleries and hung in modern art museums and premier private collections from New York to Tokyo and Capetown to Stockholm". (91)

Two other more recent cases deserve mention. The first is that of Tom Keating, who in the late 1970s achieved significant media coverage

regarding his self-confessed activities as a forger. Probably the only art forger to have received the accolade of a *Times* obituary on his death in 1984, Keating claimed that over a period of twenty-five years he produced about 2,000 forged paintings and drawings in the styles of a hundred or so artists, including Rembrandt, Constable, Palmer, the painters of the East Anglia School, Krieghoff, Manet, Degas, and Renoir. After an open confession about his activities in a letter to the *Times* in 1976, Keating was arrested and charged with conspiracy and criminal deception; all charges against him were dropped in 1979, however, on the grounds of his ill health. Some months after his death about 200 of his works in the styles of other artists were sold at Chrisie's for an unexpectedly high total of £274,610. (92)

The other case involves Salvador Dali, who along with associates was himself partly responsible for the creation of forgeries of his own work. It was admitted in 1985 that in a period up to 1980, when his health deteriorated, Dali had signed an enormous quantity of blank paper which was then used in the production of prints. Since little or nothing else was contributed to these by the artist himself they can reasonably be considered to be forgeries. The actual extent of this practice remains unclear; Dali's former business manager has put the number of signed sheets as high as 350,000, though other associates have put the figure at less than 50,000. Dali's New York lawyer has claimed that up to \$625 million worth of these fake prints have been sold in the United States alone in recent years, with the total level of sales possibly approaching \$1 billion when the European market is included. (93)

Many other post-war examples of forgers and their forgeries could be given, especially from recent years. Whilst often those which have been uncovered (presumably many recent cases remain undetected) individually contribute only minor incidents in the history of art forgery, production in the past decades has certainly been very extensive, though impossible to quantify, and is important for this reason alone. It is not, however, possible to outline here these numerous recent cases of forgery. One group is worth noting, though, if only for reason of the circumstances of their production. This case involves dozens of fakes of the work of Bernard Leach, the internationally renowned English

potter. Considered "excellent" by experts, and sold at major British auction houses such as Christie's, Sotheby's, and Phillips, these forgeries were eventually traced to the pottery class at Featherstone Prison near Wolverhampton. (94)

---0---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Quoted in D L Goodrich, *Art Fakes in America*, Viking Press, New York, 1973, p.59.
 2. D Rigby and E Rigby, *Lock, Stock and Barrel - The Story of Collecting*, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1944, p.420.
 3. *Ibid.*, p.81.
 4. *Ibid.*, p.420.
 5. Quoted in R H Rush, *Antiques as an Investment*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968, p.486.
 6. *Ibid.*, p.487.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 511.
 8. Quoted in Goodrich, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
 9. R Gimpel, *Diary of an Art Dealer*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1966, p.9.
 10. Quoted in Goodrich, *op. cit.*, p.212.
 11. Quoted in Rush, *op. cit.*, p. 484.
 12. Rush, *op. cit.*, p.484.
- Rush, however, also refers to the statements of Wallace Nutting and Edgar G Millar in their books (from the 1930s?), that more than ninety per cent of the English furniture being imported at that time was fake. (p.511)
13. *Ibid.*, p. 484.
 14. *Ibid.*, p.484.

15. J Rewald, "Modern Fakes of Modern Pictures", *Art News*, 51, March 1953, pp. 17 and 19.
16. Rush, *op. cit.*, p.511.
17. S Lohr, "Theft and Fraud in Fine Art", *New York Times*, 22 March 1981.
18. Goodrich, *op. cit.*, pp.28-29.
19. *Ibid.*, p.23.
20. S J Fleming, *Authenticity in Art*, Institute of Physics, London, 1975, p.54.
21. In L M Drachler (ed), *Forgery in Art and the Law*, Federal Legal Publishers, New York, 1956, p.21.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Lohr, *op. cit.*
24. Goodrich, *op. cit.*, pp.14-15.
25. *Ibid.*, p.34.
26. *Ibid.*, pp.13-14.
27. A Maskell, "Forgeries and Imitations of Works of Art", *The Art Journal*, 1906, p.291.
28. M J Friedländer, *On Art and Connoisseurship*, Cassirer, London, 1942, p.266.
29. F Arnau, *Three Thousand Years of Deception in Art and Antiques*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1961, p.314.
30. L Jeppson, *Fabulous Frauds*, Arlington Books, London, 1971, pp.90-95; and Arnau, *op. cit.*, pp.318-19.
31. Goodrich, *op. cit.*, p.82.
32. S Schüller, *Forgers, Dealers, Experts*, Barker, London, 1960, pp.86-87.
33. *Time*, 61, February 2, 1953, p.38.
34. Schüller, *op. cit.*, p.87.
35. R Wraight, *The Art Game Again!*, Leslie Frewin, London, 1975, p.93.
36. Schüller, *op. cit.*, p.78.
37. Arnau, *op. cit.*, p.327.

38. C Irving, *Fake - The Story of Elmyr de Hory, the Greatest Art Forger of Our Time*, Heinemann, London, 1970, p.235.
39. Arnau, *op. cit.*, p.327.
40. *Ibid.*
41. R W H, "Forged Vlamincks and Utrillos", *Apollo*, 57, 1953, p.62.
42. Jeppson, *op. cit.* pp.182-4; and J R Taylor and B Brooke, *The Art Dealers*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1969, pp.148-50.
43. Schüller, *op. cit.*, p.136.
44. R Nobili, *The Gentle Art of Faking*, Seeley Service, London, 1922, pp. 193 and 235.
45. Quoted in O Kurz, *Fakes*, Faber & Faber, London, 1948, p.152: from *The Magazine of Art*, N S, vol.2, 1904, p.80.
46. Kurz, *op. cit.*, p.151.
47. Quoted in J F Joni, *The Affairs of a Painter*, Faber & Faber, London, 1936, pp.344-45.
48. Nobili, *op. cit.*, pp.186 and 190.
49. *Ibid.*, pp.185, 187, and 191.
50. *Ibid.*, p.191.
51. Maskell, *op. cit.*, p.29.
52. Nobili, *op. cit.*, p.191.
53. Joni, *op. cit.*, p.276.
54. Nobili, *op. cit.*, p.191.
55. *Ibid.*, pp.191-92.
56. *Ibid.*, pp.192-93.
57. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p.206.
58. Kurz, *op. cit.*, p.132.
59. Arnau, *op. cit.*, p.223.
60. J Pope-Hennessy, "The Forging of Italian Renaissance Sculpture", *Apollo*, 1974, 146, p.256.
61. J Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the V & A Museum*, London, 1964, p.697.

62. Schüller, *op. cit.*, p.62; and J Pope-Hennessy, "The Forging of Italian Renaissance Sculpture", *op. cit.*, p.256.
 63. Pope-Hennessy, *ibid.*
 64. Jeppson, *op. cit.* pp. 52, 53 and 57.
 65. Quoted in Jeppson, *op. cit.*, p.53.
 66. Kurz, *op. cit.*, p.132.
 67. Jeppson, *op. cit.*, pp.56-57.
 68. Quoted in Schüller, *op. cit.*, p.66.
 69. Pope-Hennessy, "The Forging of Italian Renaissance Sculpture", *op. cit.*, pp.260-61.
 70. *Ibid.*, p.255.
 71. See generally, Schüller, *op. cit.*, pp.61-70; Arnau, *op. cit.*, pp.211-25; also Jeppson, *op. cit.*, pp.47-68.
 72. Kurz, *op. cit.*, p.134.
 73. Rewald, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 and 19.
 74. P Watson, *Double Dealer*, Hutchinson, London, 1983, p. 90.
 75. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
 76. Nobili, *op. cit.*, p.305.
 77. Gimpel, *op. cit.*, p.281. (Diary entry, January 4, 1925)
 78. *Ibid.*, p.193.
 79. *Ibid.*, p.352. (Diary entry, October 24, 1928)
- Friedländer similarly noted in 1930 that a "picture now can scarcely be sold unless it is accompanied by a slip on which somebody or other assures us that the painting is the work of this or that master", a custom which, he reports, many dealers felt to be a disgrace. (M J Friedländer, *Genuine and Counterfeit - Experiences of a Connoisseur*, Boni, New York, 1930, p.11) The practice, he thought, even in the most favourable cases had "dubious consequences", and was detrimental to scholarship, the quality of collections, and the ethics of the art trade. (p.12-13) Echoing Gimpel, he argued that one of the reasons for this development was "the Americanization of the market". (p.14)
80. See A Bredius, "A New Vermeer", *Burlington Magazine*, November 1937.
 81. Quoted in Arnau, *op. cit.*, p.258.

82. Jeppson, *op. cit.*, p.144; referring to an article by B Keisch in *Science*, April 26, 1968.
83. Jeppson (p.129) gives respective figures, translated into dollars, of \$3,041,593 and \$2,800,000.

See generally Kurz, *op. cit.*, 1967, pp.329-34; Schüller, *op. cit.*, pp.95-105; and Arnau, *op. cit.*, pp.242-64; also, Jeppson, *op. cit.*, pp.107-144.
84. Schüller, *op. cit.*, pp.71-77; and Arnau, *op. cit.*, pp.226-241.
85. Quoted in Schüller, *op. cit.*, p.107.
86. Quoted in Arnau, *op. cit.*, p.267.
87. Quoted in Schüller, *op. cit.*, p.107.
88. Schuller, *op. cit.*, p.113. See generally, Schüller, pp.106-15; Arnau, *op. cit.*, pp.265-77; *Time*, October 27, 1952, p.42, and February 7, 1955, pp.42-3; also Jeppson, *op. cit.*, pp.145-56, and Kurz, *Fakes*, 2nd ed. 1967, pp.325-29.
89. Gimpel, *op. cit.*, p.358. (Diary entry, March 4, 1929)
90. Jeppson, *op. cit.*, pp.184-90.
91. Irving, *op. cit.*, p.228; also review by B Denvir, *Studio*, 180:57, 1970.
92. T Keating, F Norman and G Norman, *The Fake's Progress*, Arrow, London, 1978; *The Times*, Obituary, 13 February 1984; and *The Scotsman*, "Master faker has last laugh", 11 September 1984.
93. *The Observer*, "When is a fake not a fake?", 11 August 1985; see also *The Guardian*, "Salvador Dali admits faking his own work", 15 March 1985; *The Observer*, "Who will inherit Dali's fortune?", 14 October 1984; and, *The Sunday Times*, "'Bogus paintings' row grows round Dali bed", 9 September 1984.
94. *The Sunday Times*, "How to make pots of money in prison", 18 January 1981.

PART II

EXPLANATION OF ART FORGERY AS A CULTURALLY SPECIFIC PRACTICE



CHAPTER 7

INTRODUCTION - BASIS FOR THE OCCURRENCE OF ART FORGERY

If the outline and details in the previous chapter are accepted as providing an accurate picture of the historical emergence of art forging, then it should have been seen that this activity has both historical and cultural limitations. What these next chapters aim to do is to account for and explain, at different levels of generality, why this has been the case. I shall attempt to uncover why art forgery has been an expanding practice in Western Europe since the Renaissance, and why it has been unknown in almost all other cultures until recently.

In approaching an answer to this question it is useful to remind ourselves of the meaning and content of the concepts of forging and faking; to forge is "to make falsely", "to counterfeit for purposes of fraud", and to counterfeit is "to imitate; to copy without authority", while a counterfeit is "something false or copied, or that pretends to be true and original". (1) All of these definitions relate to, to use an expression applied by Dickie in a different artistic context, "non-exhibited properties". (2) For forgery to occur, an importance or value must be given to some quality or aspect external to and independent of, though associated with, the actual physical being of an object. As Brandi has noted:

falseness is a subjective human value; it exists only when it is intended and perceived as such; it does not inhere in the object itself ... falsity is not a property of the object in question but is an aspect of judgement concerning the relation of the object to the idea and intention of its creation and distribution. (3)

Specifically, concerns with originality, authenticity and provenance - properties not apparent or existing on the face of the object - are of central and basic relevance both for the occurrence of forgery and for any analysis of it. Only when there is an awareness and valuation of

these factors can there be any possibility of deception or of the pretence that a work is something other than it really is. Where the material substance, surface data, or form of an object are the only areas of interest, then forgery cannot occur. As Nelson Goodman states in his discussion of art and authenticity in his major study, *Languages of Art*:

A forgery of a work of art is an object falsely purporting to have the history of production requisite for the (or an) original of the work. Where there is a theoretically decisive test for determining that an object has all the constitutive properties of the work in question without determining how or by whom the object was produced, there is no requisite history of production and hence no forgery of any given work. (4)

Or perhaps one should more accurately say that whilst every artifact must have a "history of production", only when this is seen as a constituent part of the meaning and valuation of the object can forgery be a possibility.

Further, in addition to these necessary or intrinsic requirements, there is also an important, more practical, issue which has to exist before forgery will become a reality. Basically, there must be an adequate outlet or purpose before a forgery will be constructed. A corresponding receiver who values the qualities which are being deceptively produced must at least potentially exist, for without such an appreciator the undertaking of such practices would be pointless.

Clearly, forgery occurs and has occurred in many areas other than that of art; indeed, it has been generally practiced, sometimes extensively, in cultures and periods in which the forging of art has not existed. The types of areas where forgery has occurred, and also those where has not, give us some insight into what societies value and regard as significant.

Thus, in the Middle Ages, with its strong religious basis, the forging of relics of saints was apparently a particularly widespread practice, as can be seen from the existence of multiple sanctified articles, which should have been unique or at least in very limited supply. For example, in the Middle Ages there were at least thirty reputed nails of the True Cross to be found among the relics of the

churches of Christendom. (5) Documents too, especially towards the end of this period, began to be forged more and more as written sources became of greater importance for the establishment of titles - probably the most famous example of this type is the *Donation of Constantine*, which spuriously gave Pope Sylvester 1 and his successors temporal power over the lands of Italy. This work, purporting to be from the hand of the Emperor Constantine, was probably manufactured in the Papal chancery sometime during the middle of the eighth century. (6) In medieval culture, however, there are no examples of the forging of art for, as we shall see in detail later, in that society as in most others no significance was attached to originality or provenance, to the "history of production", in works of art.

Specifically applying the general requirements for forgery outlined above, for the forging of art to occur there must be valuing of the work as coming from a particular historical moment, culture or artist - that is, there must be some awareness of and distinction between originals and copies, and some conception of historical and/or individual differentiation. The art work must be able to be seen as a unique and individual object, of greater meaning than a reproduction. This conception did not exist to any extent, if at all, in medieval society nor in most others. Further, even if these preconditions had in fact been met, any attempts at forgery would in practice have been severely restricted or non-existent since there were few suitable receivers for such products - those for whom authenticity is of consequence are mainly connoisseurs and collectors, whose historical existence, as shall be shown below, has been quite limited rather than universal. Before forgery of art can occur, therefore, there must be a co-existence of these characteristics and interests. But whilst a valuation of originality and provenance in works of art frequently occurs at the same time as a critical appreciation of art and the collecting of it, these attitudes and activities, though closely inter-connected, are not inseparable. As will be shown later, there have been examples of their independent existence. In such cases there is an insufficient basis for the emergence of forgery; before this can happen a coming together of these two areas is required.

Thus Tietze is wrong, though not far from the mark, in stating that

"Works of art have been counterfeited as long as they have been collected". He is right in arguing that as long as works of art "served only their immediate purposes, such as the satisfaction of religious or magical needs, or the decoration of bodies, abodes or sacred buildings, forgery did not exist". However, he is mistaken in presuming that "as soon as such objects were sought for their aesthetic merits and as collectors' pieces, they were forged when the natural supply was exhausted". (7)

Neither is Borrelli completely accurate when, concentrating on the other conditional requirement, she argues that "The history of falsification begins logically the moment after the formation of critical judgement and taste, as their negative corollary." (8)

Dealing first with Tietze's position, an appreciation of aesthetic merits alone does not necessarily imply a significant valuation of originality or provenance - indeed, a purely aesthetic or formalist attitude, as in what Meiland has called the "appearance theory of aesthetic value" (9), frequently denies the validity or relevance of such aspects of a work, accepting instead that an exact copy of a work is as aesthetically adequate as the original, since "aesthetic value is independent of the nonvisual properties of a work of art, such as its historical properties". (10) Such aesthetic merits of a work should be capable of adequate and honest reproduction, so the exhausting of a "natural supply" is either impossible or of little importance. Further, as we shall see in detail later, whilst the collecting of art is of central importance in the explanation of art forging, its relationship to this practice is not as clear or as directed as Tietze supposes. For example, forgery seems to have been absent in early seventeenth century Holland, even although the collecting of Dutch pictures was a very common practice. Borrelli's position, on the other hand, neglects the relevance of collecting. Whilst critical judgement of works of art, allied with the concept of taste, are essential elements for the emergence of forgery, they do not in themselves usually make up a sufficient condition for its development, since such awareness is not necessarily intertwined with the possibility or desire for individual collecting and possessiveness.

These two explanations - individually repeated by other commentators

- are therefore in their own way one-sided and inadequate, the necessary connections between them not having been made. An adequate explanation requires their coming together. However, it should further be pointed out that whilst these conditions in combination are prerequisites for the emergence of art forgery, their existence will not necessarily be sufficient for this to this result. Thus the authors quoted above are further misguided in presuming the consequence of forgery inevitably flowing from the occurrence of their stated pre-conditions.

These events are contingent rather than determining in their nature; they are necessary but not sufficient conditions. The context within which they exist retains an independent importance, with such practical considerations as the extent of critical interest in art, and the restrictedness or otherwise of collecting to particular social groups, having some controlling influence. Thus, where art collecting is limited to a small, cohesive, and highly aware elite their needs can to a great extent be catered for by the supply of authentic works. Only when the number of individuals involved is substantial, and awareness limited, will forgery develop to any significant extent to feed the demand. Further, the creation of distance - either personal or geographical - between the original source (i.e. the artist) and the collector or connoisseur is of importance for the facilitation of forgery in the case of contemporary works. Of particular relevance here is the rise of the intermediary, the dealer, whose emergence is a consequence both of the changing social role of the artist and of the interests of the collector. The frequent involvement of dealers or middlemen in art forgery has already been indicated in the previous chapters. Further, the lack of physical mobility of art is an important constraint on it being forged. Even when there exists an appreciation of originality and informed taste, if works are not capable of changing hands, if they cannot be moved (e.g. frescoes and certain sculptures), then collecting (rather than appreciation or connoisseurship) is hardly possible and forgery is therefore most unlikely. (11)

In the light of these remarks, it should be clear that in our attempt to understand and explain the historical occurrence of art forgery, we must look first to the two central areas of the social and cultural position of the artist and his work (since these are vital for

the development of interest in authorship and originality), and the emergence of connoisseurship and collecting. These areas will be considered in turn in the following chapters, with discussion of the more general and structural meaning of these developments being left to Part III of the thesis.

---0---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. *Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary*.
2. G Dickie, *Art and the Aesthetic - An Institutional Analysis*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1974, p.27.
3. C Brandi, "The Nature of Falsification", in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, McGraw-Hill, London, 1965, vol.V, p.334.
4. N Goodman, *Languages of Art - An Approach to a Theory of Symbols*, Oxford University Press, London, 1969, p.122.
5. M Rheims, *Art on the Market*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1961, p.215.
6. P Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past*, Edward Arnold, London, 1969, p.11; and W Ullmann, *A History of Political Thought: The Middle Ages*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1965, pp.59-63.
7. H Tietze, *Genuine and False*, Parrish, London, 1948, p.16.
8. L V Borrelli, "History of Falsification", in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, McGraw-Hill, London, 1965, vol.V, p.335).
9. J W Meiland, "Originals, Copies, and Aesthetic Value", in D Dutton (ed.), *The Forger's Art - Forgery and the Philosophy of Art*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1983, pp.115-30.
10. Ibid, p.116.
11. Forgery is not completely impossible in these circumstances, however, as we have seen with the Fey and Malskat forgeries in the Marienkirche in Lübeck in 1951.

CHAPTER 8

ART'S HISTORIES AND THE RELATIVITY OF PERCEPTION

It is commonplace to find in writings on the history of art an assumption (usually implicit) of coherence and continuity, of a seamless historical or evolutionary development, between art objects from different periods and cultures. As Ades has noted, the history of art has essentially utilised a "progressive, developmental model, a linear or 'vertical' line from movement to movement, 'ism' to 'ism'". (1) Within accounts based on such an approach, it is essentially accepted that there is a basic universal similarity between art works and in the creative intentions and activities of artists from different areas or times, and in the uses of and responses to the works produced.

Works of art are seen as having objective defining properties, which permit the grouping together of objects from quite separate cultures. Schapiro argues that "Basic for contemporary practice and for knowledge of past art is the theoretical view that what counts in all art are the elementary aesthetic components, the qualities and relationships of the fabricated lines, spots, colours, and surfaces." (2) Artists throughout history are seen as belonging similarly to a single group or category with distinctive traits, attitudes and intentions. As Gowans notes, thousands of books have been written about "the Art of Egypt and the Art of Ancient Iran, the Art of the Parthenon, and the Art of Byzantium, as if what Egyptians and early Greeks and Sumerians called "art" were the same kind of activity that the School of Paris and the Royal Academy engaged in; as if Raphael and Rembrandt and Pollock and Warhol were all exactly the same kind of artists, differing only in the kinds of forms they used". (3)

However, these perceptions and understandings are highly suspect; an apparent unity has been created through the imposition of modern Western ethnocentric and ultimately unhistorical and uncritical attitudes onto diverse materials, structures, and individuals which in fact often have

little, if anything, in common. Layton is right in noting how "Europeans have tended to assimilate the diverse and independent artistic traditions of other cultures to a monolithic evolutionary or diffusionist scheme at whose centre lie their own specific experiences."

(4) This association in modern culture of quite different kinds of art is, in the words of Malraux, "rendered feasible only by the metamorphosis that the works of the past have undergone, not merely through the ravages of time but also because they are detached from certain elements of what they once expressed". (5) One significant result of such modern perceptions is that, as Schapiro states, even "the most realistic representations are contemplated as pure constructions of lines and colours", with the observer often being "indifferent to the original meanings of works", even though some vague poetic or religious sentiments may be experienced. The forms and expressions of works come to be regarded "in isolation, and the history of an art is written as an immanent development of forms." (6)

So, for example, the palaeolithic paintings at Altamira are today often seen as the precursors of modern art. (7) But such an understanding cannot be sustained. Criticising the "simple and obvious" fault of such an approach (8), Hess argues:

by treating pictorial art as a surface phenomenon, by looking at a picture only for what you can see on the surface, not much can be learned. A picture by Klee looks somewhat like a cave painting. But the significance of a work of art does not lie in a surface resemblance to something else, it is embedded in the meaning with which society has imbued the image. The social and spiritual function of a cave painting and a work by Paul Klee are literally worlds apart, and any failure to see the work as the outcome of a social reality must lead to superficiality and error of interpretation. (9)

Similarly, Schapiro accepts that while there are obvious resemblances and much in modern styles which recall primitive art, nonetheless, "modern paintings and sculptures differ from the primitive in structure and content", with primitive art belonging to "an established world of collective beliefs and symbols", whereas the resemblances in modern art arise from "an individual expression, bearing the marks of a free, experimental attitude to forms". (10)

While not necessarily denying the possible existence of some

definite, deep connections and similar characteristics between the arts of different periods, it is important for our present purposes to concentrate on certain fundamental differences between modern Western conceptions of art and the artist, and those of other cultures and times. It is not the intention here to enter into the debate on whether aesthetic sensibility - the appreciation of form or beauty independent of function - is or is not a universal characteristic, nor, if this is the case, whether it takes the same form in all cultures.

What is important for this thesis is the giving of primacy to this aspect of art works; that is, the acceptance of independent aesthetic qualities as the most important characteristic of an image or artefact, with further, the positive valuing of its period of production or of the individuality and originality of the artist who gave it its form. Even if aesthetic sense, as we presently perceive it, has a universal existence (which is doubtful), the status given to the formal or aesthetic features of a work, as will be made clear, differ significantly between particular cultures. What we now see as independent and self-contained works of art - paintings, sculptures, etc. - and appreciate primarily for their formal and non-utilitarian characteristics, have been valued in quite different and distinct ways in the past. Our approach to and understanding of objects created in cultures different from our own do not necessarily correspond to those for whom they were made. As Brunius has observed, in the twentieth century art tends to be "beheld and reacted to in complete isolation from any other influencing factors". A work of art "saturated with importance from individual situations, from a personal flavour, from a cultural environment", is used today "in quite another way than it was used by the artist and his first public and contemporary critics". (11)

Whereas art works are now often seen as "belonging to a static order and as satisfying a static set of expectations" (12), in reality, far from eliciting similar responses from the audiences which have approached them at different times, the meanings attached to them have been quite diverse, and the functions to which they have been and are put are not unchanging. As Boas has noted in his famous paper, *The Mona Lisa in the History of Taste*:

The search for aesthetic standards by means of which any work of art can be finally judged would seem to presuppose either that every such work is an unchanging entity, or that, regardless of whether it changes or not, it should always be judged in the same way. Neither of these presuppositions appears tenable ... works of art are not the locus of one value, known as "beauty" or something similar, but are rather multivalent ... certain of their values are experienced by some persons, others by others ... (13)

Using the *Mona Lisa* as his example, Boas showed "how a given work of art may in different periods have essentially different content - and therefore be admired for different, if not contradictory, reasons." If the experiences surrounding this work could be taken as typical, he argued, "it would appear that works of art which "withstand the test of time" change their natures as times change. The work of art becomes thus the locus of a new set of values determined by the preconceptions or the predominant interest of the new critic or observer." (14)

To sum up, the social roles of artists and the public attitudes and reactions towards them and their work, have varied enormously depending on time and place. In contrast to our own age, in many other societies art has performed particular functions in which issues of creativity, originality, and aesthetic experiencing were of little or no importance.

An understanding of these differences is central to the construction of an adequate account of the development of art forgery, for as noted above only when certain artistic valuations and concerns coincide will this practice be able to occur. Clearly, an exhaustive analysis of historical perceptions of art and artists cannot be attempted; nevertheless, some pertinent interests and attitudes from the main Western civilisations can be outlined to help us in this investigation.

---0---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. D Ades, "Reviewing Art History", in A L Rees and F Borzello (eds), *The New Art History*, Camden Press, London, 1986, p. 12.
2. M Schapiro, "Style", in A L Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1953, p. 291.
3. A Gowans, *The Unchanging Arts*, Lippincott, Philadelphia and New York, 1971, p. 7.
4. R Layton, *The Anthropology of Art*, Granada, London, 1981, pp. 1-2.
5. A Malraux, *The Voices of Silence* (1953), Paladin, St. Albans, 1974, p. 65.
6. Schapiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-92.
7. J Duvignaud, *The Sociology of Art*, Paladin, London, 1972, p. 26.
8. Specifically, as found in the exhibition *40,000 Years of Modern Art*, held at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in 1948, with an accompanying text, edited by Herbert Read, in which an attempt was made to argue that the forms of modern art have always existed.
9. H Hess, *Pictures as Arguments*, Sussex University Press, London, 1975, p. 9.
10. Schapiro, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
11. T Brunius, *Theory and Taste*, Uppsala, 1969, p. 115. (For discussion of the ethnocentricity and cultural relativism of modern rules concerning art, see also T Brunius, *Alexis de Tocqueville: The Sociological Aesthetician*, Uppsala, 1960.)
12. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
13. G Boas, "The Mona Lisa in the History of Taste", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 1, 1940, p. 207.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

CHAPTER 9

'PRE-MODERN' CONCEPTIONS OF ART

In 'pre-modern' societies, if one may use such an awkward short-hand term to describe past and non-European cultures, art was not separated from other social and human functions; it was not viewed or valued as an independently existing aesthetic structure divorced from utility. Commonly, when not purely decorative, it was subsumed within or was a coherent part of magical, religious or other social activities - taking these terms in the widest sense. The conditions necessary for art forgery to occur could not exist in this context.

Thus, for example, in ancient Egypt, art as we generally understand the concept today did not exist, although it is undeniable that sculptors and painters had a central role to play in the invention and development of the forms of its material culture. If there was any distinct awareness of 'art' at all, then this could not have been above the consciousness of religious experience, for in this culture the creation and use of images and art works were integrated parts of the omnipresent concern with and continual affirmation of the divine king, the Pharaoh, who was responsible for overseeing the destiny and harmony of the country. (1)

Egyptians, like other peoples in antiquity, believed in "the existence of all-pervading, invisible and super-human forces that had to be propitiated if their enmity was to be avoided". (2) Continual worship of these powers was thought to be required to ensure the stability of the universe, and so all art, along with other social activities, was directed to this end; it did not have an existence independent of or above that of its involvement in the religious and magical aspects of life (or more accurately death), and could not within such a world-view be valued separately from its primary function. As Aldred notes, "art for the Ancient Egyptian is a completely practical affair, designed not to move the emotions of the spectator for whom, in

any case, it was not produced; but to ensure by magic means the immortality of the person represented". (3)

In most cases artistic works were enclosed in shrines or tomb chambers, which indicates that their purpose was not primarily visual. Instead, works such as statues and reliefs functioned as repositories of supernatural forces, as is shown by the requirement that on completion they had to undergo a religious rite, the Opening of the Mouth, in order to be animated. (4) Without this they were inconsequential and purposeless, merely inanimate products of man, rather than "a vibrant part of the divine order charged with numinous powers". (5)

The nature and purpose of the whole artistic practice in ancient Egypt was such that concern with individual expression and self-conscious creativity did not exist. As could be expected in such a conservative and tradition-bound society, form, style and iconography were not personal and did not alter to any extent even over hundreds of years. Through the requirement that it conformed to ritual and belief, Egyptian art was able to develop only as religious ideas changed, which was infrequent. (6) Following from this, most commissions followed a pattern "long hallowed by use and religious sanction", although a few new designs were occasionally demanded, for example on the advent of a new king, especially during the period of the New Kingdom. (7)

All of this, however, does not mean that Egyptian art, masterful in its complexity and skill, was "not creatively inspired, that its ends were not achieved by aesthetic means, nor its style sustained by a persistent sensibility". (8) Rather, it shows that awareness and use of it was of an order distinct from our own; conscious concern with plastic qualities, individual expression and originality were not appropriate or meaningful. Art objects had an integrated function from which they could not be appropriated, and independent evaluation or possession of them were not possible.

The art of the Greeks was similarly much involved with religious and social life, though, importantly, in a much more public, visible, and human form than that of the Egyptians. As Pollitt notes, following from the preoccupation of Greek philosophy during the fourth and fifth centuries B C with questions of ethics and social and political theory, "the arts tended to be viewed as significant and worthy of evaluation to

the extent that they played a role in Greek society, particularly in its educational institutions". (9) At least until the Hellenistic period in the fourth century B C, Greek art remained practical and religious or ritualistic, being concerned with votive offerings and representing the gods and heros of the culture. The Greeks, therefore, hardly comprehended works of art divorced from the practical or religious purpose for which they were essentially designed. Thus the *Aphrodite of Cnidus*, by Praxiteles, for example, was not simply a study of a female nude, but rather was conceived within an attitude of devotion; it was not constructed for aesthetic appreciation. (10)

Summing up the scope and nature of art in classical antiquity, Kristeller, in his important essay, *The Modern System of the Arts*, writes that:

We have to admit the conclusion, distasteful to many historians of aesthetics but grudgingly admitted by most of them, that ancient writers and thinkers, though confronted with excellent works of art and quite susceptible to their charm, were neither able nor eager to detach the aesthetic quality of these works of art from their intellectual, moral, religious and practical function or content, or to use such an aesthetic quality as a standard for grouping the fine arts together or for making them the subject of a comprehensive philosophical interpretation. (11)

The art of this time was quite conservative in its nature, with strong artistic, moral and religious conventions clearly determining major aspects of an artist's work. The themes utilised in painting, sculpture, and architecture were limited in number and underwent comparatively little change through a long period. (12) Subject matter of Greek art was restricted by traditional conventions, with particular themes and subjects, such as the battle between the gods and the giants, deities, athletes, and dancing satyrs and maenads, being repeated over centuries. (13)

Significant changes of conception and of valuation did however begin to emerge in the fourth century B C, in the Hellenistic period. However, because of the relevance of these changes for the Roman attitude to art, they are perhaps more appropriately dealt with together in the discussion of that culture. Since the Romans represent the main exception to the emerging 'pre-modern' position on art, their views will be considered separately at the end of this chapter.

Excluding the Greco-Roman civilisation for the moment, then, and continuing the chronological investigation of the attitudes to art in some of the major Western 'pre-modern' cultures, it is useful now to consider the two main societies that rose from the Western and Eastern parts of the Roman Empire after its fall: the Byzantine in the East, and what in modern terms is called 'Early Medieval', including the Carolingian and later the Romanesque, in the West.

Byzantine society, from its birth in the middle of the fourth century A D to about ten centuries later, maintained in the mainly Greek-speaking Eastern provinces the survival of the Roman Empire in unbroken continuity, while the West "sank into anarchy". (14) This continuity was to have crucial influence on all Byzantine history and culture. (15) But whilst the imperial art of Rome was brought to Constantinople with the transference of the seat of the court and government there in 330 A D, over the following two centuries "art was developed and transformed to suit the demands of the changing conditions and of a refounded state". (16)

The Christian religion was central to the reconstructed state and vitally influenced all social life, including the artistic. Whilst secular art did exist, Byzantine art was essentially religious in nature, functioning to "increase the understanding of the divine beyond the finite limits of the human mind". (17) According to Talbot Rice:

Christianity was ... not only one of the principal factors governing the development of Byzantine art; it was also one of the most important in its creation. It moulded and influenced that art as a sculptor moulds his clay; it set certain bounds which could never be transgressed; it dictated its forms and limitations. Like the services and liturgies of the Church, art was little affected by external events, and like the liturgy it developed from within, shaped by the nature of the faith it served. It sought to express the infinity of the Christian God ... (18)

The basic position occupied by art this culture was summed up in the proclamation of the Second Council of Nicaea of 787, which ended the 'Iconoclast Controversy'. Adopting the arguments of St John Damascene, that images should be used "for greater knowledge and for the manifestation and popularisation of secret things, as a pure help and benefit to salvation", the Council decreed that:

It is defined with all certitude and accuracy that just as the figure of the precious and life-giving Cross, so also the venerable and holy images, as well as painting and mosaic as of other fit materials, should be set forth in the holy churches of God, in the sacred vessels, and in the vestments and hangings, and in pictures, both in houses and in the wayside, to wit, figures of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, of our stainless Lady, the Mother of God, of the honourable Angels, of all the Saints and of all pious people. For by so much more frequently as they are seen represented, by so much more readily are men lifted up to the memory of their prototypes, and to a longing after them. For the honour which is paid to the image passed to that which the image represents, and he who reveres the image reveres in it the subject represented. (19)

In the West, too, art tended to function didactically in the service of the Christian Church, though not as early as in the East. Initially in the West, Roman art had been swept aside and replaced by that of the Barbarians, which was primarily of a type based on indigenous traditions which echoed the 'primitive' art of the Bronze and Iron Ages. By freeing the lands within the Roman Empire, Lantier argues, "the barbarians made it possible for their peoples to recapture ways of feeling and seeing which had lain dormant under the Roman veneer, and which were diametrically opposed to the classical tradition". (20) The art of these Germanic and Celtic migrant tribes was essentially decorative and was restricted to portable articles for personal use or adornment. The "lure and glamour of gold" lay heavily over their cultures (21); precious metals and stones, and coloured glass and enamel were the normal materials used and valued.

But as well as this re-emergence of old styles and practices, the West also saw the creation of new forms and images arising from the spread of Christianity. Whilst in the beginning this religious art was marginal and hesitant, being limited mainly to monastic manuscript illumination, by the ninth century it had matured and had expanded, at least to all the areas under the theocratic control of Charlemagne. Though some secular luxuries were constructed in the Carolingian Court workshops for the small ruling elite, the power and needs of an expanded and entrenched Church led to most artistic production being directed towards religious ends, with "the absolutist cultural programme of the Church" becoming completely realised under the influence of the Cluniac movement after the end of the tenth century. (22) This time, that of the First Romanesque period, saw a huge expansion of ecclesiastical

building, with associated artistic production. This was attested to by the monk Raoul Glaber, who wrote in his chronicle of about 1048 that "in the years that followed the year 1000 we witnessed the rebuilding of churches all over the universe, but especially in Italy and Gaul". (23) Yet, this programme of building and artistic production was limited in comparison with the great period of Early Medieval church construction which was to occur in the following two centuries.

Although becoming established some centuries later than in the East, many similarities are apparent between this Early Medieval culture and that of Byzantium, the chief one being the central hold and direction exerted by Christianity and its earthly representatives. There is no doubt about the sacred character of most of the art of this time. As Henderson notes, "Christianity gave to medieval art its basic sense of purpose and its specific imagery" (24); indeed, in Northern Europe by the ninth century "the depiction of Christ on the cross was the principal preoccupation of artists in every medium". (25) Further, it was not only the subject matter which was defined by religion; so too was the practical representation of it. According to Hauser, the Church "brought every area of life into an immediate relationship with faith and derived - from the primacy of Church doctrine - its rights to set the limits and guiding principles of artistic endeavours. It was only in the framework of an "authoritarian and forced culture" of this sort that so homogeneous and unambiguous a formal language as that of early medieval art could have developed and persisted". (26)

Within such an environment, originality in conception or construction could not be identified as a positive or important aspect in the creation of art, for, despite continual shifts and developments in awareness, Early Medieval art was characterised by the "faithful preservation of traditional forms". (27) The Early Middle Ages had no understanding of the idea of progress and did not value newness as an ideal. Instead, it strove to preserve the "familiar truths guaranteed by authority"; as an age, it was "much less concerned with originality of interpretation than with the confirmation and corroboration of the truths themselves". (28)

In the following centuries, through the Late Middle Ages or Gothic period, and the Early Renaissance - from about the middle of the twelfth

century to the end of the fifteenth - new and important directions emerge in the artistic practices of Western Europe: cathedrals replaced monasteries as the major architectural and artistic enterprises, secular patronage developed alongside that of the religious orders, and the artistic centre of gravity moved from the country to the towns. Nevertheless, a basic continuity with the interests and practices of the earlier medieval centuries is apparent. Whilst stylistically the arts of both the Gothic and Early Renaissance periods are quite distinct from each other, and also from the earlier Romanesque, they remained under the influence of the dominant spirituality of the times. The *raison d'être* of art continued to be the reflection of religious ideas, even when commissioned by lay patrons. According to Antal, in this "pre-bourgeois era", "art divorced from religion could have no meaning". Moreover, "a theory of art as such was out of the question; this was true of both pre-scholastic and scholastic philosophy. There could merely be theories of beauty, or more exactly, isolated statements about beauty, and all of these ... had their place within a general framework and in close conjunction with theological concepts". (29)

Scholasticism, by teaching that material things were only of value to the extent that they revealed aspects of the nature of God and of the eternal world, inhibited a perceptive awareness of art and effectively excluded any appreciation of style. (30)

The importance of art was in what it represented, and not in how this was achieved. As Mâle has argued, "to study medieval art, as is sometimes done, without reference to the subject-matter and with attention wholly given to progress in technique, leads to misunderstanding and confusion". Gothic sculptors "did not believe that a choice of subject was a matter of indifference, and they did not think of a statue as merely intended to give momentary pleasure to the eye. In medieval art every form clothes a thought; one could say that thought works within the material and fashions it. The form can not be separated from the idea which creates and animates it." (31)

The primary nature and use of art remained similar to that as expressed in the Council of Nicaea in the eighth century. John of Genoa, in his *Catholicon of the late thirteenth century*, summarised the reasons for the institution of images in churches at that time as being:

First, for the instruction of simple people, because they are instructed by them as if by books. Second, so that the mystery of the incarnation and the examples of the Saints may be the more active in our memory through being presented daily to our eyes. Third, to excite feelings of devotion, these being aroused more effectively by things seen than by things heard. (32)

Pictures and other types of art works existed at this period "to meet institutional ends, to help with specific intellectual and spiritual activities". (33) Works of art were wanted only as things subservient to practical use, with their purpose and meaning always preponderating over purely aesthetic value. (34) When that purpose had been achieved, or when some new work was required, superseded paintings would readily be overpainted and metalwork dismantled or melted down. This attitude to art, accepting it as primarily practical, is shown for example in the will of Fillipo Strozzi of the early sixteenth century. He asked in this for a monument to be erected to him in the family chapel, in which there was already a fresco by Lippi, adding "do not worry about the painting that is there now, which it is necessary to destroy, since it is of its nature not a very durable thing". (35)

An aspect of this functional nature of art which is of importance to our study is the immobility of art at this, and earlier, times. It was not just physical immobility arising from particular artistic techniques, such as fresco, which limited transference, and therefore the collecting of art; more importantly, following from the specific rôles which art works had to perform, they could not readily, if at all, exist outside the church, chapel, palace, etc. for which they had been commissioned. The particular significance of content was such that existence independent of the context for which they had been planned would often be meaningless. As Antal noted in his study of Florentine painting in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, "All the major works of the artists would be executed in pursuance of a definite order, and all their principal pictures would be painted for a definite place, and with a carefully specified subject". (36) Following from this, an altarpiece, for example, was in the view of both artist and patron "destined to stand forever on a particular altar in a particular location". (37)

Clear conclusions can be drawn from this brief survey of attitudes to art in 'pre-modern' societies. Art works were not independent structures, but rather existed as part of the wider fabric of their societies, as images involved with particular social needs. They had primarily utilitarian functions to perform, even though in some cases they might to some extent have been evaluated aesthetically as well. The relevance of this for this thesis is that in these conditions the "history of production" of art was of no concern; what mattered was the content and communicative adequacy of the works. Issues of originality (in terms of conception) and provenance were not ones in which these cultures were interested, nor, as we shall see below, did they value the producers of the objects to any degree.

There were, however, two related exceptions to the above world-views. In the Hellenistic and Roman cultures, which in many respects merge with one another, a new awareness and approach to art was developed. (38) In the 'Hellenised' world following the conquests of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B C, "a new conception of art as something to please and amuse, not simply to educate and instruct", began to emerge. (39) The arts in this period began to be "deployed more for the satisfaction of men and kings, for the embellishment of private houses and palaces, than for the glory of the gods and the State". (40) Such an attitude was to persist until the end of the Roman Empire.

Summing up the development of the attitudes to art in ancient Greece, Pollitt perceives

the gradual shift from objectivity towards subjectivity in the rendering of critical judgements; from the preoccupation of the professional artist with form and means of controlling form towards the connoisseur's preoccupation with his reactions to art and the philosopher's interest in evaluating its extrinsic meaning; from an interest in perfecting a product, of "putting together" a work of art in the most effective manner, towards an interest in the personality and the state of mind of the man who produced it. (41)

Of particular relevance to this study is the admiration of earlier cultural achievement which also developed at this time - such a

perspective had not been seen before. Interest arose "not with how technical improvements in art might be made but with what the cultural and philosophical value of earlier art was". (42) Utilising the principles of chronological organisation and differentiation as applied by Aristotle and later writers to literature, it became accepted that the arts of sculpture and painting also went through a period of growth to maturity and then decayed or stagnated. Within this normative classification, mature achievement was seen as being embodied in the art of the fifth and earlier fourth centuries. According to Pliny, the last sculptors who revealed art in its fullness were the pupils of Lysippus and Praxiteles.

This recognition of the superiority of art from what thus came to be defined as the Classical period over that of later times, and also over non-Greek cultures, led to it being particularly valued. The statues and paintings of this period became established as *exemplares* or *paradeigmata* which could be emulated but not surpassed. (43) This led to later art often being essentially imitative of works of that time, and copying of Classical originals became one of the main preoccupations of Late Hellenistic and Roman artistic activity. (44)

Thus, a new and unique awareness had been constructed, which had an important impact on the way art was seen and used. It was no longer necessarily tied to a functional base; rather, it had come to have a separable identity. The history of its production took on an interest in its own right, while the religious meanings and values which had surrounded the works at their creation became of less significance, if they remained at all. (Boardman speculates that by the time the Romans had taken control of the Hellenic world, "many Greek temples may have had more to offer as museums than as places of worship". (45)) The history of art and of artists had been born, and a critical concern with artistic creativity, vision and skill, had become an area of public interest. Even the unfinished works of the favoured fourth century artists were admired and highly valued as embodying the artist's thoughts (46); such an attitude would have been inconceivable in the other cultures discussed above. The forging of Greek sculpture, particularly during the period of the Roman Empire, which was discussed in chapter 1, was a direct consequence of these changes in perception.

This attitude was only to emerge again in the West about fifteen hundred years later.

---0---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. C Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1980, p.11.
2. *Ibid.*
3. C Aldred, *Art in Ancient Egypt - The Old Kingdom*, Tiranti, London, 1968, pp.1-2.
4. Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, *op. cit.*, p.21.
5. *Ibid.*, p.18.
6. Aldred notes that "Once Egyptian civilisation had evolved rapidly to a stage that suited the practical aspirations of its architects, it solidified into a form that remained remarkably stable". (*Art in Ancient Egypt - The Old Kingdom*, p.6).
7. Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, *op. cit.*, p.19.
8. Aldred, *Art in Ancient Egypt - The Old Kingdom*, *op. cit.*, pp.6-7.
9. J J Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art: Criticism, History, and Terminology*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1974, p.31.
10. F Chamoux, "Greek Art from the Sixth to the Fourth Centuries", in R Huyghe (ed), *Larousse Encyclopedia of Prehistoric and Ancient Art*, Paul Hamlyn, London, 1962, p.251.
11. P O Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts", in P O Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts - Collected Essays*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1980, p.174. (Originally published in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol.XII (1951), no.4, and vol.XIII (1952) no.1.)
12. D E Strong, *The Classical World*, Hamlyn, London, 1965, p.9.
13. Pollitt, *op. cit.* p.25.

14. However, whilst the Byzantine empire is usually considered as finally destroyed when the Turks stormed Constantinople in 1453 and killed the last Roman Emperor, Constantine XI, much of its culture and art forms nonetheless continued in the following centuries, though with some significant reorientations and transformations. Mathew notes that Manuel Tzanes in his early work from 1655 to 1670 is perhaps the last Byzantine panel-painter, and that the last Byzantine wall paintings were executed in 1682 by the monk John in the church of Kaiseriana upon Hymettos. (G Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics*, John Murray, London, 1963, p.8)
 15. Mathew, *ibid.* p.1.
 16. D Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Art*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1968, p.16.
 17. S Runciman, *Byzantine Style and Civilisation*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1975, p.211.
 18. Talbot Rice, *ibid.*, p.64
 19. Quoted in F P Chambers, *The History of Taste*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, pp.5-6.
- The directly practical nature of art is made very clear here. Nevertheless, whilst no commendation is made of images as ornaments in the architecture of the church, nor any mention of art as having interest or value independent of didactic function, it would not be true to say that an aesthetic awareness was altogether lacking from Byzantine culture. Byzantine civilisation had an essentially mathematic emphasis, which led to the valuing of due proportion, rhythm and order; beauty consisted of the harmoniousness of the whole. Light and colour too were considered very significant, with a recurring association between life and light, and colour seen as light materialised. (Mathew, *op. cit.* pp.3, 5 and 93) Thus aesthetic experience and awareness seem not to have been excluded from the contemplation of religious objects, though importantly the former was not abstracted from the latter, beauty being still related to the divine order.
20. R Lantier, "The Barbarian Invasions and the Early Middle Ages", in R Huyghe, *Larousse Encyclopedia of Byzantine and Medieval Art*, Hamlyn, London, 1963, p.96.
 21. G Henderson, *Early Medieval*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972, p.35.
 22. A Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, vol.1, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962, p.165.
 23. Quoted in J Hubert, "Romanesque Art", R Huyghe, *Larousse Encyclopedia of Byzantine and Medieval Art*, *op. cit.*, p.261.
 24. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p.28.
 25. *Ibid.*, p.233.

26. A Hauser, *The Sociology of Art*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1982, p.273.
27. Henderson, *op. cit.* p.29.
28. Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, vol.1, *op. cit.*, p.164.

The overall practical nature of art at this time, however, should not be overstated. Schapiro in his essay "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art" (1947 - reprinted in M Schapiro, *Romanesque Art*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1977) rejects the view that Romanesque art was fundamentally and rigidly functional and religious-didactic, noting rather contemporary views which indicated an awareness and appreciation of formal and expressive qualities. Nonetheless, whilst these caveats are important and must be accepted (however, we have also already seen interest in design, light, colour, etc. in other cultures considered in this chapter, so nothing new is being introduced here) they do not upset the interpretation that the art of this period, as in those which preceded it and existed contemporaneously with it, was not valued in isolation from its function; formal qualities, whilst acknowledged, were not given primacy. Originality in conception or construction were not positively identified as important in the creation of art.

29. F Antal, *Florentine Painting and its Social Background*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1948, p.274.
30. A Martindale, *Gothic Art*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1967, p.9.
31. E Mâle, *The Gothic Image - Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century* (1910), Fontana, London and Glasgow, 1961, p.viii.
32. Quoted in M Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1972, p.41.

A similar position was stated by Fra Michele da Carcano in a sermon published in 1492. (Baxandall, *ibid.*)

33. Baxandall, *ibid.*, p.40.
34. J Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1924), Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1976, p.234.
35. P Burke, *Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy*, Fontana, London and Glasgow, 1974, pp.140-41.
36. Antal, *op. cit.* p.282.
37. B Cole, *The Renaissance Artist at Work*, John Murray, London, 1983, p.35.
38. Strong notes that "Hellenistic art is not sharply divided from Roman Art", and that the Romans played a large part in the later development of Hellenistic art. (*op. cit.*, p.76)

39. Strong, *op. cit.*, p.76.
40. J Boardman, *Greek Art*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1973, p.179.
41. Pollitt, *op. cit.*, p.85.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. J Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age - The Greek World View 350-50 BC*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1979, pp.59-63.
45. Boardman, *op. cit.*, pp.225-26.
46. Onions, *op. cit.*, p.63.

CHAPTER 10

THE POSITION OF THE ARTIST IN 'PRE-MODERN' SOCIETIES

Within the societies considered above, even whilst art had an important role to play in their social structures, the artist himself was generally not valued to any extent, if at all. He remained an anonymous and lowly craftsman. Even in the Hellenistic and Roman cultures, where as we have seen a new awareness of art had begun to emerge, appreciation and interest was restricted to Greek art and artists of the Classical period of the fifth and fourth centuries, and also, to some extent, to the artists of the mid-second century B C who were thought to have returned to the perfection of the earlier time. The expanding enthusiasm for both art and biography in the Hellenistic and Roman periods does not appear to have led to any significant estimation of contemporary artists, nor to an increase in information on their lives and work. With very few exceptions, artists remained unnamed, although they produced much fine work which could stand comparison with that of the far better reported earlier craftsmen. (1) According to Burford, "Expressed admiration for contemporary craftsmen, despite all the names, works and styles which are so minutely and frequently quoted in the literature, would appear to come down to the single account, by the Elder Pliny, of a visit to the sculptor Zenodorus' workshop". (2)

The reality would appear to be, then, that even in Roman society the artist as a figure was not highly regarded. For all the apparent lauding of the Classical painters and sculptors, he remained of low social esteem, a manual worker who by the nature of his employment could be neither morally nor politically virtuous. The painters and sculptors of antiquity were not separated or distinguished from other craft workers. The distinction which is now made between arts and crafts, and their practitioners, was not one which applied then. This is made clear in linguistic usage. In antiquity, the Greek and Latin terms for 'art'

encompassed many kinds of human activities which we would now class as crafts or sciences. Burford states, "In Greek, *techne* and, in Latin, *ars* were used indiscriminately of painting and cobbling alike, just as the *technites*, *cheirotechnes* or *demiourgos*, the *faber* or *artifex*, could be either a sculptor or a miner, a quarryman or an architect". (3)

A paradox existed between the creator and his work; one could, like Seneca, venerate the images of the gods whilst nonetheless thinking little of the sculptors who had made them. (4) At best, probably only the long-dead of the fifth and fourth centuries were considered acceptable, and even their status was questioned; as Plutarch observed, "It does not necessarily follow that if a work is delightful because of its gracefulness, the man who made it is worthy of our serious regard ... No one, no gifted young man, upon seeing the *Zeus* of Pheidias at Olympia or the *Hera* of Polykleitos at Argos ever actually wanted to be Pheidias or Polycleitos". (5) Similarly, Lucian warned against becoming a sculptor:

you will be nothing but a labourer, toiling with your body ... getting meagre and illiberal returns, humble-witted, an insignificant figure in public ... one of the swarming rabble. Even if you should become a Phidias or a Polycletus and should create many wonderful works, everyone would praise your craftsmanship, to be sure, but none of those who saw you - if he were sensible - would wish to be like you; for whatever your achievement, you would be considered an artisan, a craftsman, one who lived by the work of his hands. (6)

Some individual exceptions, artists who gained high public recognition and honours, certainly did exist (7), but the vast majority seem to have been restricted to the roles outlined above.

Such a position was also the norm in the other societies considered earlier. For example, it was only in later centuries, when "a spirit of nostalgia for the past splendors of Greek civilization and an urge to idealize and glorify its achievements became increasingly common among Hellenistic intellectuals" (8), that even the great Greek artists of the Classical period were valued to any extent. Burford notes how ancient literature showed "only a passing concern for all but the technical and stylistic aspects of the craftsman's way of life." (9)

While it is true that from the seventh century B C on we find for

the first time artists signing their works, which implies some sense of awareness of identity and individuality, nevertheless, the meaning and purpose of this remains ambiguous and inconsistent, and not too much should be made of it (as is frequently the case). This practise did not seem to reflect any real change in attitude in the wider public, who remained aloof from the artist and his concerns. In their own time, like contemporary artists in the later Hellenistic and Roman societies, the Classical artists were seen primarily as manual workers or *banausoi*. Herodotus reported how, following the Egyptians, the Greeks had adopted the attitude that "craftsmen and their descendants as lower in the social scale than people who have no connection with manual work"; this attitude applied especially to the Spartans, with the Corinthians having a less strong feeling against handicrafts. (10) No matter the excellence of the quality of the artist's work, he could never achieve virtue through the practice of his craft. This followed from the distinction made by Aristotle, and accepted by others concerned with moral and political ideals, between *poiesis* or making, and *praxis* or doing; the end result of the former is something other than itself, whilst for the latter it is not, its end being *eupraxia*, doing well. (11)

It had always been the case that in Egypt that the numerous workmen who carried out the enormous building and other artistic projects were not considered to be of any intrinsic interest. For all their definite skills, they remained modest and anonymous artisans, and were probably unaware of the guiding principles of their art. They were specialists in their own crafts, skilled in limited fields of activity, and generally operating under the control and direction of the priesthood, which provided educated supervision and overall design.

In Byzantium too, many centuries later, it was the representatives of the Church rather than the artists themselves who controlled artistic enterprises. Execution alone was the preserve of the artist, with the selection and arrangement of the subject belonging to the Fathers. As stated in the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea, "The composition of religious imagery is not left to the initiative of artists, but is formed upon principles laid down by the Catholic church and by religious tradition". (12) The Byzantine artist was merely a minor civil servant who worked in the Palace schools, where he played his role in the

overall project of enhancing God's glory and that of his earthly Sacred Empire. He was "of too junior rank to appear in any list of Imperial officials. He was not regarded as a creator. He was simply the channel through which art flowed". (13) Interest in originality and individual expression were not therefore part of the Byzantine artistic environment.

As could be expected in such controlled circumstances, the position of the artist was a lowly one. According to Mathew, "The normal anonymity of the Byzantine artist is due to his social obscurity". Whilst the architect or engineer of a project, such as Anthemius who designed Haghia Sophia, could become famous, "no one troubled to record the artisans who worked under his direction to embellish it". (14) Even when the skill of an artist was praised, he still almost invariably remained unnamed. (15) As Runciman states, "to the Byzantium of the time the artist's person was of no importance". (16)

Byzantine aesthetic theory contributed significantly to the overall unimportance of the artist within Byzantine culture. Two types of causality in artistic production were distinguished. The subject of a painting was seen as its 'formal' cause, and was differentiated from its 'efficient' cause, the painter, with the former considered to be of much greater importance than the latter. (17) Thus, according to the writer Nikephoros, the formal cause of an icon of Christ is the Form of Christ. Similarly, the person of the Emperor was the formal cause of an icon depicting him. Mathew argues that this conception "implies that the formal cause determines the importance of an image", and that the "primary object of a Byzantine artist ... was to let the formal cause become translucent through the material". (18)

Only towards the very end of the Empire does the status of the artist in Byzantium appear to have risen, although most still remained anonymous. Runciman notes that the individual icon painter was the first artist to obtain personal recognition, but even here, "though in Russia artists such as Rublev and Theophanes the Greek were known by name by the end of the fourteenth century, it was not till after the fall of Constantinople that the names of individual Greek artists working in Greek lands began to be distinguished". (19) It was really only after Byzantine culture had come to an effective end, and other

influences had become predominant, that the names of artists became widely known. (20) And even then, the Byzantine artist did not and could not progress along the Western lines of independence which were then developing and which will be outlined below. His fundamental involvement with the Church, complementing the liturgy and devotion through showing the earthly shadow of the eternal Divine Presence, denied him the possibility of personal importance and expressive freedom.

In the West, too, in the centuries following the destruction of the Roman Empire the Church was the only body of any significance which employed artists, and they can be presumed to have had similar outlooks and laboured under similar conditions as their colleagues in Byzantium. Whilst not apparently despised, the artist was neither lauded nor his individual identity noticed. At this time, Hauser argues, "the impersonality of the work of art and the unobtrusiveness of the artists are beyond doubt. For even when the name of a artist is mentioned and the artist expresses a personal ambition in his work, the idea of individual particularity remains foreign to him and his contemporaries". (21)

Important evidence of the nature and role of the Romanesque artist is provided in the early twelfth century treatise *De Diversis Artibus* by the German Benedictine monk Theophilus. This book, almost uniquely for its time, includes references to the artist's ideals and his attitude to his work. Although written by a monastic craftsman, the perspective outlined in the treatise, that "all created things proceed from God", is presumed to be generally typical of the period. This understanding is clearly expressed in the following statement by Theophilus:

What God has given man as an inheritance, let man strive and work with all eagerness to attain. When this has been attained, let no one glorify himself as if it were received of himself and not Another but let him humbly render thanks to God ... Nor let him conceal what has been given in the cloak of envy or hide it in the closet of a grasping heart. But, repelling all vainglory, let him with a joyful heart and with simplicity dispense to all who seek ... (22)

The position and role of the artist remained basically similar in the following centuries, with the Gothic artist continuing to belong to

"the normal and accepted order of things". (23) The social and intellectual aspirations of the medieval artist remained similar to other manual workers; the Wittkowers state that "progress from apprentice to journeyman to master was prescribed; their obligations and rights towards their patrons set down; their working hours and free days regulated by law." (24)

In both the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance definite prejudice still generally existed against any occupation involving manual work. Whilst this could be traced back to Aristotle, it more immediately reflected ideas within the Christian Church which placed "contemplation above action, thinking above performing, and, after the example of Christ, Mary above Martha". In these conditions, "Artificers were not worth serious thought; and neither were their artefacts, or, at least not for any inherent characteristics which they might possess". (25)

According to Henderson, "Artistic creation, while recognized as involving admirable skill and learning, was not yet equated with the self-expression of an excelling mind". In a period when traditional attitudes constrained even the rôle of kings, "an artist could not regard his art as his own peculiar prerogative". (26) The artist remained "the docile interpreter of great ideas which it took him all his genius to comprehend". (27) Indeed, it was not uncommon for very explicit programmes to be given to the artist, his involvement being merely the technical accomplishing of them. For example, in the middle of the fifteenth century the church of St Urban at Troyes in France was quite explicit concerning the subjects and their arrangement to be depicted in a series of tapestries showing Pope Urban, St. Valerian, and St. Cecilia. Part of the surviving memorandum required that:

There shall be made and portrayed a place and a tabernacle after the manner of a fine room, in which shall be the said St Cecelia humbly kneeling on her knees, with hands joined as if in prayer to God. And near her shall be the said Valerian showing great admiration and gazing at an angel, who being above their heads, shall hold two crowns made and portrayed of lilies and roses, the which he shall appear to place and dispose one on the head of St Cecelia and the other on the head of the said Valerian, her husband. (28)

Similar detailed programmes, emanating from religious orders, lay fraternities, and private individuals, can also be found throughout Italy during the fifteenth and into the sixteenth centuries. Vasari, the important sixteenth century artist and art historian, remarked that he never found any memorial of the masters in the "dark times" before Giotto, and could not "but marvel at the simplicity and indifference to fame exhibited by the men of that age". (29) Although this impression is not completely accurate, and overstates the anonymity of artists of that time, since signatures and even self-proclaiming inscriptions appear on manuscripts and sculptures quite frequently in Northern Italy and France from the twelfth century onwards, nonetheless, as with the appearance of similar phenomena in ancient Greece, too much should not be made of this emerging practice at this stage and Vasari's comment generally retains its force. (30)

Even when an individual name was attached to a piece of work, more often than not it was that of the patron or person who commissioned it rather than that of the actual artist. As Henderson observes, "The work done is the patron's due. It appertains to him for whom it was done rather than to him who does it". (31) Thus, the term *fecit* (he made) was used of both medieval and Renaissance patrons, rather than of the artists themselves. (32) According to Wackernagel, in his classic study, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*:

The tasks, occasions, and possibilities for artistic activity ... became effective, in each individual case, only through the interaction of that agent who commissioned an artist to work on such a task and was in a position to finance its execution. Thus the impetus for the creation of the art work and the material means for its realization came almost without exception from the patron, the donor, or commissioner. Accordingly, following an apt analogy of George Lills', in the biology of artistic events, the service of generative paternity falls to the patron. The "maternal" operation of the artist in the conception, internal maturation, and delivery of the work, can only subsequently go into action on the basis of this. (33)

Thus, Wackernagel notes, it is not without reason that the artist's name is lacking from many monuments, sculptures and paintings. Otherwise, if it is inscribed, as a rule it lies along with "the 'father's name', the *fieri fecit* of the first, essential, if only

indirect author, the initiator and donor of the artistic creation". (34)

Examples of the application of this concept of creation include the travelling of Jean de Beaumetz to Mehun to see "works in painting, figure sculpture and carving which Monseigneur de Berri had had made" (35), and a gold cup now in Munich is inscribed, "Through God's grace, George, Margrave of Brandenburg, had this vase made in 1536" (36).

More generally, the servile position of the artist in his relationship with the patron is well illustrated in a letter of 1438 to Piero de' Medici, son of Cosimo, from Domenico Veneziano, who wrote

I have just heard that Cosimo has resolved ... to have painted, an alterpiece, and that he desires a magnificent work. This pleases me much, and it would please me even more if it would, with your help, be possible for me to paint it ... The great and true desire I have to be of use to you makes me presumptuous enough to offer my services. If my work should be less good than whosoever else's, I would subject myself to whatever penalty I deserve ... But if the work should be so great that Cosimo is thinking of entrusting it to several masters, or if he has made up his mind to give it to somebody in particular rather than to anyone else, then, I beg you to use your kind offices so that I may be permitted to execute at least some small part of it. If you only knew how I desire to create something glorious and for you especially, you would not withhold your favours from me. (37)

---0---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. A Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1972, p. 205.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 205-6.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
4. R Wittkower and M Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists*, Norton, New York, 1969, p. 5.
5. Quoted in Burford, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
6. Quoted in Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

7. Burford, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
8. J J Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art: Criticism, History, and Terminology*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1974, p. 52
9. Burford, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
12. E Mâle, *The Gothic Image* (1913), Fontana, London and Glasgow, 1961, p. 392.
13. S Runciman, *Byzantine Style and Civilisation*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1975, p. 119.

The Byzantine artist was limited by the entrenchment of conventions in iconography, and any "desire for experiment was ... restricted by the intense conviction that the Empire represented an eternal pattern". (Runciman, *ibid.*, p. 120.)

14. G Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics*, John Murray, London, 1963, p. 25.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 74)
16. Runciman, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
17. Mathew, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

Artists and craftsmen ranked as *ergolaboi*, that is, men who were engaged by contract to work on materials provided by their employers. Their place in the Byzantine social organisation is well described in the twenty-second chapter, entitled 'concerning all *ergolaboi* or joiners, plasterers, stonemasons, locksmiths, painters and the like', of the *Book of the Eparch*, which probably dates from the end of the ninth century or beginning of the tenth. Their restricted rights are outlined in the first section, where it is stated that "Craftsmen who make a contract for any job and receive an advance upon it are not to leave that job and undertake another unless they have finally completed the job". Only if materials were lacking, or because of delay caused by misconduct of the employer, could the craftsman, after due notice or attestation and with the sanction of the Prefect, start another job. *Ergolaboi* who disregarded the agreement which they had made, and who "from greed or from malice prepense" left the job which they had undertaken and took on another, were to "be brought to reason by flogging, mutilation and deportation". (Mathew, *op. cit.*, p. 114)

19. Runciman, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

21. A Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, vol.1, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962, p.158.
22. Quoted in A Martindale, *The Rise of the Artist*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1972, p.67.
23. G Henderson, *Gothic*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1967, p.19.
24. Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p.44.

This understanding of the artist as a worker among many others is made plain in Jean de Jandun's chapter, *Concerning the Manual Artificers*, in his treatise on Paris of 1323. There he wrote:

"We have also thought to add something concerning those craftsmen working with their hands, if it will not displease the reader to consider them. Here indeed you will find the most ingenious makers of all sorts of image, whether contrived in sculpture or in painting or in relief ... Again, you will discover men preparing most diligently clothing and ornaments. ... We are not ashamed to mention here the makers of bread ..." (quoted in Martindale, *The Rise of the Artist*, *op. cit.*, p.9.)

25. A Martindale, *Gothic Art*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1967, pp.8-9.
26. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p.19.
27. Mâle, *op. cit.*, p.394.
28. Quoted *ibid.*, p.394.
29. Quoted in Henderson, *op. cit.*, p.42.
30. It seems overenthusiastic to argue from this data, as Larner for example does, that by this date, "It is clear that there already existed an admiration for art in itself as opposed to art as a cult object, and an admiration for the man who produced it." (J Larner, *Culture and Society in Italy 1290-1420*, Batsford, London, 1971, p.266) These signs should rather be seen within the context of the artist's profession, where they indicated an awareness of work well done, and should not yet be presumed to have a wider social significance. Skill and beauty were no doubt acknowledged and appreciated, but the evidence is against the artist and his creation being especially valued.
31. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p.35.
32. P Burke, *Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy*, Fontana, London and Glasgow, 1974, p.111.
33. M Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist* (1938), Princeton University Press, Princeton, trans. 1981, p.207.
34. *Ibid.*, note, p.207.

35. Quoted in Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

36. M Rheims, *Art on the Market*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1961, p. 25.

A similar situation of the commissioner of a work and not the craftsman being considered as its creator also existed in Byzantium. For example, a portrait of a Byzantine courtesan, Callirhoe, apparently the mistress of Thomas, the Treasury Curator, is inscribed: "I am Callirhoe, the versatile, whom Thomas goaded by his love has set in this picture to show what great desire he has within his soul". (quoted in Mathew, *op. cit.*, p. 74.)

37. Quoted in Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

CHAPTER 11

THE NATURE AND CONSEQUENCE OF ART VIEWED AS CRAFT

It should now be clear that at least up to the end of the fifteenth century the position of the artist in society was that of a manual worker, specifically, a craftsman; he was not qualitatively distinguished from other craft workers. This followed logically from the primarily practical and functional nature of the works which it was his lot to produce. This 'craft' conception of the artistic enterprise applied in all the periods we have considered. A number of important points follow from it. First, what was primarily valued in the artist was his skill, his ability competently and appropriately to produce the required piece of work. Burford defines craftsmanship as embodying "the performance of techniques according to traditional practice, in such a way that the product is entirely adequate in form and function". (1) Second, following from this, it was accepted that the practice of art could be taught and that skill was reproducible.

The Classical craftsman was concerned with *techne*, which Pollitt translates as involving "organised knowledge and procedure applied for the purpose of producing a specific preconceived result". (2) This central interest of their art is shown by the types of writings produced by practitioners. The available evidence, Pollitt argues, "suggests that the writings of the ancient Greek artists were primarily concerned with formal problems in art and the technical procedures by which these problems were met and solved". They concentrated on discussing such issues as proportion and colour, and showed only a secondary interest, if any, in the philosophers' moral questions about their art. (3)

What were of concern to both artists and others were issues of technical construction, and not ones of creativity or originality. Painters, sculptors and architects were seen as responding to purely external influences. Outstanding pieces of work were not considered to result from some insight special to the maker's character as artist; as

Burford notes, "Artistic temperament was considered irrelevant and unnecessary to craftsmanship ... If *techne* could not provide all the answers, then it was not the artistic flair or genius of the individual which would do so, but chance." (4) If one artist was considered superior to another, then it was because his technical command was the better.

Similarly, in both the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance, the next periods for which we have most details, it was skill which was essential to the good artist. The primarily technical concerns of the time are specifically made clear in Theophilus' treatise, which was basically a 'recipe book' for artists, containing instructions on the proper and best ways for preparing pigments and glass, laying gold and silver, etc. Generally, the Wittkowers argue, "Medieval artists' manuals and medieval aesthetics both suggest that, like tailors, weavers and other craftsmen, artists found fulfilment in the technical perfection of their work". (5)

It was this skill, in addition to the precious materials used, which patrons required and bought, as is made clear in their contracts with artists. For example, in a contract of 1478, between the Sienese painter Matteo di Giovanni and the bakers' guild of Siena, the commissioned *Nativity* was to be "painted and adorned with fine gold, and with all the colours, richly, according to the judgement of every good master". (6) Similarly, the Provost and Deputies of the Commune of Prato required Giuliano da Sangallo, in his capacity as architect and overseer of the new church of Santa Maria delle Carceri, "to work to his utmost, faithfully, studiously and well, to do everything useful and omit anything useless, and to do all else ... with all the customary diligence of a good architect and master overseer". (7) A further, rather later, example is found in the contract of 1521 between Perugino and the Canons of S Maria Maggiore, Spello, which demanded of paintings of a *Pietà*, and of St. John and Mary Magdalene, that "the prescribed figures, landscape and adornments" were "all to be done by his own hand according to the usage of a good master". (8)

Following from this craft conception of the artistic enterprise, what was valued and paid for, assuming adequate competence in execution, was the time and productive energy involved in the carrying out of the

commissioned piece of work. By and large the Medieval and Early Renaissance artist, when not in the salaried employ of a patron, was a wage earner who received payment based on the size of the work, the time spent on it, or on the number of figures represented in it. Filippo Lippi, for example, was paid six times more for his painting *The Crowning of the Virgin* than for his earlier Barbadori altarpiece in S. Spirito, mainly because, although it was not much larger, it contained about five times as many figures. (9) Borso d'Este, the Duke of Ferrara, paid for his paintings by the square foot, whilst "a commercially more refined man", such as the Florentine merchant Giovanni de' Bardi, paid the painter for his materials and his time. (10) Prices seem to have been fairly standardised.

The competence and skill which was essential to the adequate execution of the artistic crafts was, in the Medieval period, under the control of the artists' guilds, which had existed since about the thirteenth century. Applicants wishing membership were required to construct a 'masterpiece' as final proof of technical accomplishment before admission as a master craftsman could be achieved - this status of master, once obtained, indicated professional competence rather than distinction. Although it would appear that initially the ability of would-be masters does not seem to have been formally tested, by the middle of the fifteenth century the execution of masterpieces had become a requirement for entry into many of the guilds of northern and central Europe. The expectations held of these works provide an important indication of the attitudes and values of the time. The craft nature of the enterprise is apparent from the works having to be "well and suitably made", or made "in the appropriate manner and style", and similar. Such statements, Cahn argues, "presuppose the existence of stable and commonly shared norms of craftsmanship whose mastery could be readily expected. There is no hint that a demonstration of such skill should involve notable difficulty or efforts of a truly exceptional kind". (11)

Intertwined with this attitude was the acceptance that skill, or artistry, could be taught, and that it was not the special preserve of a caste of born artists imbued with a unique spirit of creativity. In the view of Theophilus, "whoever will contribute both care and concern is

able to attain a capacity for all arts and skills as if by hereditary right". (12) Part of the function of the guilds was to oversee the teaching of the skills of good craftsmanship through the regulation of the apprenticeship system. Until the Renaissance, according to Bell, "the main task of the pupil was to learn to imitate his employer until the work of the apprentice became indistinguishable from that of the master". Although the work of the apprentice might diverge from the exemplar to some limited extent, as the pupil grew in proficiency, "the distinction between the two would in general be slight and their common character would be strongly imprinted by the community to which they both belonged". (13)

The centrality and positive acceptance of copying at this time is clear from the direction by Cennini, in his *Treatise on Painting* of 1437, that the student should "copy from models, in order to attain the highest branches of the science"; he should "always study and delight in drawing the best subjects which offer from the works of the great masters", and should "daily imitate" the manner of "the best and most celebrated" master. (14) Similarly, Johannes Tauler taught that "An industrious painter who wants to paint a fine picture on his own account will first look at another which has been well done: then he will copy all the points and lines the same onto his own board, and paint his picture by following them as faithfully as he can." (15)

There is also implicit, if not explicit, in the above attitude to skill an acceptance of the relevance and importance of tradition. Commissions were to be fulfilled in accordance with accepted formulae and norms. Repetition of accepted and tried forms was not denied; indeed, often they were required. A requests for novelty would have made no sense within a craft structure the concern of which was to create primarily functional works. Self-expression and originality were not expected, or even wanted; there could be "no departure from certain rigid rules". (16) The medieval artist (and also those of earlier periods) Gombrich argues, "did not struggle with his medium nor search for new methods of expression, but thought and formulated with already known elements. He did not follow an inner voice, but an external commission which laid down that the projected work be firmly based upon the patterns already established for works of that kind". A stock of

forms were reemployed, "the characters of a pictographic system". The task of the artist was to master the use of these signs. (17)

A recognition of the centrality of tradition continued into the Renaissance too. Cole states that although there were invention and experimentation, "Whole generations of artists, in retrospect, can be seen pursuing similar stylistic and iconographic goals". Any changes occurred "within the bounds of a firmly established artistic convention, and with considerable respect and admiration for the works of art by the artist's ancestors and contemporaries". (18) The Early Renaissance artist and his patron remained conservative in attitude; a standard set of types had been established, and the patron picked one of them according to the particular function and purpose of the work he was commissioning. (19) This is seen, for example, in a contract of 1445 between the Misericordia and Piero della Francesca, which required "the making and painting of a picture ... to be done in the present fashion". (20) Similarly, in the contract of 1478 which has already been mentioned between Matteo di Giovanni and the bakers' guild of Siena, it was stipulated that the requested Nativity scene was "to be represented with the Virgin Mary, and the Son, Joseph, the ox and the ass, the way it is customary to do this Nativity". (21) Whilst these traditional types were occasionally modified, in most cases "artists treated the types they inherited with respect; they were to be utilised and then passed on to the next generation of painters and sculptors". (22)

Successful designs were repeated again and again, and no apologies were considered necessary. According to Ferrarri, "the medieval artist made no basic distinction between originals and copies and did not consider making copies as an activity theoretically or practically different from other artistic pursuits". (23) Contracts often referred to existing works when specifying the requirements for the new one. For example, in the 1461 contract of Benozzo Gozzoli with a lay fraternity, the Company of Purification, it was stipulated that in the middle of the commissioned altar painting there should be placed "the figure of Our Lady on the throne, in the manner and form and with the same decorations as the picture above the High Altar in San Marco, Florence". (24) Similarly, Bishop Waynflete of Winchester, when commissioning the building of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1479,

contracted that portions of the work should be "after the model of All Souls". He also contracted in 1475 for a new rood loft for Eton College Chapel, the front of which was to be like that of Winchester College Chapel and the back a facimile of the College of Saint Thomas Acrez in London. (25) In another contract of 1447, Michele Giambono was commissioned to make a painting for the high altar of the church of Sant'Agnese "in the form and similitude in its fabrication, decoration and wooden framing as the altarpiece in the Chapel of All Saints in the church of San Pantaleon ... with this condition, that this painting must and shall be made wider than the aforesaid painting in San Pantaleon". (26)

It was further common to use old drawings as templets for new works. For example, Count Paul Biring, the French antiquary, identified a set of drawings illustrating the Creation, which had been reused, with some alterations depending on space etc., in the windows of twenty churches in the Département of Aube alone. (27) Wackernagel notes that in the Early Renaissance, and even later, "the use of preparatory drawings by other, more inventive masters, was often practiced by the weaker artists, which at that time could not appear especially strange or even noteworthy". (28) An important example of such use was noted by Benvenuto Cellini, who wrote of Antonio Pollaiuolo (c.1432-98) that "he was such a great draughtsman that not merely did all the goldsmiths use his most beautiful drawings, which were of such excellence, but also many sculptors and painters, and I speak of the most accomplished in these arts, also used his designs, and through them achieved the greatest honour". (29)

This concern with tradition in the artistic field, and also the lack of interest in designs being new or original, was not specific to the area of art, or the crafts generally, but was merely part of a wider intellectual environment; according to Ravetz, "in Europe up to the Renaissance the category of personal property embodied in an isolated piece of new knowledge simply did not exist". This was emphasised by the scholastic method which was based on the analysis and citation of authorities; following from this, novel ideas and conclusions were actually put forward as being but part of an already accepted tradition. Thus in alchemy, for example, "the force of tradition in the

authentication of any result was so strong that many genuinely original works were published as the rediscovered texts of great masters". (30)

In conclusion, it is clear that up to the Renaissance in Italy, and even later, there prevailed almost universally a conception of art which saw it as a practice dependent on skills which could be taught, mastered and repeated. It was fundamentally tradition bound, with little requirement of or respect for originality of conception; what was of most concern was adequate technical execution within acknowledged and accepted parameters. If one artist had the technical ability to successfully reproduce a piece of another's work, then he was seen as that others equal as an artist. Distinctions between 'originals' and 'copies', apart from the exceptions in the Hellenistic cultures, were neither of practical nor of theoretical interest; it may even be doubted whether such differentiation would even have been conceptually possible.

The significance of such outlooks for the explanation of the emergence of art forgery should be obvious; in these cultures and similar ones, with their emphasis on function and skill, where the painter and sculptor were craftsmen like any other, the forging of works of art could make no sense as a practice. As Lessing has noted:

Forgery is a concept that can be made meaningful only by reference to the concept of originality, and hence only to art viewed as *creative*, not as a reproductive or technical activity. The element of performance or technique in art cannot be an object for forgery because technique is not the kind of thing that can be forged. Technique is, as it were, public. One does or does not possess it or one acquires it or learns it. One may even pretend to have it. But one cannot forge it because in order to forge it one must already possess it, in which case there is no need to forge it. (31)

---O---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. A Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1972, p.184.

2. J J Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art: Criticism, History, and Terminology*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1974, p. 32.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

The Wittkowers argue that there is reason to believe that most of these treatises "showed the artists' attempt to grapple with their problems on a theoretical level, to discuss matters of principle, to regard art as an intellectual profession divorced from the old tradition according to which art was just one craft among many others." They do not doubt that "this literature, originating in the second half of the fifth century and gathering momentum in the fourth, reflects a volte-face among artists similar to that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries". (R Wittkower and M Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists*, Norton, New York, 1969, p. 2) This seems, however, to be reading too much into the limited evidence which is available (none of the treatises now survive). Anyway, even if some such new awareness developed at this time, it clearly did not extend outside a limited circle of practicing artists. The painter and sculptor still remained artisans like any other.

4. Burford, *op. cit.*, p. 202.
5. Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
6. B Cole, *The Renaissance Artist at Work*, John Murray, London, 1983, p. 54.
7. Quoted in D S Chambers, *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance*, Macmillan, London, 1970, p. 73.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
9. Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
10. M Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1972, pp. 1-2.
11. W Cahn, *Masterpieces*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1979, pp. 12-13.
12. Quoted in A Martindale, *The Rise of the Artist*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1972, p. 67.
13. Q Bell, "Conformity and Nonconformity in the Fine Arts", in S M Lipset and L Lowenthal (eds.), *Culture and Social Character - The Work of David Reisman Reviewed*, Free Press, New York, 1961, p. 392.

Often the pupil would be related to the master, indicating further the absence of demand for any special or profound aptitude before a person would be accepted as an apprentice in the profession. In the Early Renaissance, for example, artistic production commonly

followed in certain families, with one or more representatives carrying out "the ancestral trade" at any one time. (M Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist* (1938), Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1981, p.304)

Similarly, in ancient Egypt the perfected skills in particular crafts were passed from father to son (C Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1980, p.22), and in Greece it was casually remarked by Plato that "the sons of *cheirotechnai* [men skilled with their hands] learn the craft from their fathers". (quoted in Burford, *op. cit.*, p.84) According to Burford, literary references and personal records indicate that "throughout antiquity fathers trained their sons, who trained their sons after them in the practice of the craft into which they had been born. By far the most numerous records showing the handing down of skills for several generations are those of sculptors and painters, but there is no doubt that family interest pervaded every other craft." (Burford, *op. cit.*, p.84)

14. C Cennini, *A Treatise on Painting* (1437?), translated by M Merrifield, Lumley, London, 1844, p.14.
15. Quoted in T Würtemberger, *Das Kunstfälschertum*, Böhlau, Weimar, 1940, p.26.
16. E Mâle, *The Gothic Image - Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century* (1910), Fontana, London and Glasgow, 1961, p.394.
17. E H Gombrich, "Achievements in Medieval Art" (1937), reprinted in E H Gombrich, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse*, Phaidon, Oxford, 1963, pp.71-72.
18. Cole, *op. cit.*, p.32.
19. *Ibid.*, p.137.
20. Chambers, *op. cit.* p.52.
21. Quoted in Cole, *op. cit.*, p.53.
22. Cole, *op. cit.*, p.137.
23. O Ferrarri, "Reproductions - the modern period", in *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, Vol. , Magraw-Hill, London, 1965, col.176.

This attitude is interestingly illustrated in a Dutch deposition of 1621, which although of a comparatively late date nonetheless is thoroughly medieval in its contents. According to this document, Hubert Grimani, a Delft portrait painter, had agreed to copy a painting for one Corneli Michielsz. Zoetens. Grimani had previously boasted, before witnesses, that he could make a copy better than the original, and that he would do so for fifty gulden. Zoeten agreed to this and subsequently supplied Grimani with a painting to copy. When this had been completed, both paintings were produced

before one of the witnesses, so that the copy could be inspected and judged whether or not it was better than the original. With the painter's consent, "Mr. Michiel Miereveld, assisted by Willem Willemsz. van Vliet", compared the copy with the original; Miereveld, when asked whether the copy was "better or even as good" as the original, replied that it "by far not so good as the original, adding many other words besides". No mention was made in the deposition of who painted the original. In the interpretation of Montias, this omission is "probably symptomatic of the premodern attitude toward copies that prevailed in this early period. It did not matter so much who painted the original and whether his idea or conception had been imitated or purloined; what really mattered was whether an artist had the craft and skill to do a "better job" than the original". (J M Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft - A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1982, pp.234-35)

24. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p.54.

25. J A Knowles, "Ancient Reproduction and Mass Production of Works of Art", *Connoisseur*, Nov. 1926, p.134.

26. Quoted in Chambers, *op. cit.*, p.187.

27. Knowles, *op. cit.*, p.138.

28. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p.336.

Wackernagel continues that this was not noteworthy "since originality and novelty in invention were looked on as a special supplementary value, not as an indispensable property of an artistic work". It is not clear that they were even as regarded as this.

29. Quoted in F Ames-Lewis, *Drawings in Early Renaissance Italy*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981, pp. 11-12.

30. J R Ravetz, *Scientific Knowledge and its Social Problems*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971, p.104.

31. A Lessing, "What is Wrong with a Forgery?", in D Dutton (ed), *The Forger's Art - Forgery and the Philosophy of Art*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1983, p.68.

CHAPTER 12

THE EMERGENCE OF NEW PERCEPTIONS OF ART AND ARTISTS

The general attitudes towards and practices within the sphere of art up to about 1500 have been outlined above. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, first in Italy and particularly in Florence, and then elsewhere, hesitant but significant developments and changes away from medieval conditions and constraints had begun to emerge. The position of the artist became more independent and his outlook more aware and self-conscious; the interested public too began to approach both the artist and works of art in ways qualitatively different from before. (1)

As might be expected, practitioners were themselves often in the forefront of attempts to develop new attitudes to the visual arts. Some of them expended a great deal of effort in arguing both for increased personal status and for a greater awareness and appreciation of their work. A primary concern was the desire for a 'liberal' rather than 'mechanical' rank for painting and sculpture, and to achieve the prestige already enjoyed by rhetoric, poetry, and music. In furtherance of this aim, highly selective and distorted readings were made of relevant classical authors - potent symbols of authority in a culture which generally afforded much value to Classical writings. They highlighted the purported positive attitudes towards painting and sculpture shown by these texts, bringing out "every instance in antiquity and in more recent times of favour shown to painters by kings, princes or popes". (2)

The use of such arguments by artists alone would probably not have been enough to achieve a new and higher status for their arts. Success was to be achieved, however, through collaboration with humanist writers, such as Petrarch, Villani and Facius, who, following what they believed had been the common attitude in Antiquity, began to praise individual artists and particular works in a way quite alien to the Medieval tradition. Thus, beginning in the Quattrocento, "the bonds

which held the artist in his class were loosened here and there". (3)

Also of vital importance in this struggle by the artists to be regarded as practitioners of 'liberal' arts was an emphasis on the 'intellectual', 'scientific', and generally humanist aspects of their work, rather than the manual nature of their craft. Central to this new ideal was Leon Battista Alberti's treatise *On Painting* of 1436, in which he argued that painting should be seen as the highest of the arts. It was, in his view, "the best and most ancient ornament of things, worthy of free men, pleasing to the learned and unlearned", with "a great appreciation of painting" being "the best indication of a most perfect mind". In addition to possessing the necessary technical skill, Alberti argued that the artist should also master geometry, optics and perspective, and know the rules of composition (mathematics, from which these are derived, was considered as a liberal art), and must also understand the mechanism of the human body; good *inventio*, the highest achievement of art according to Alberti, would only be possible if the painter made himself "familiar with poets, rhetoricians and others equally well learned in letters". Overall, the artist should attempt to become an *huomo buono et docto in buone lettere* - a man of good character and great learning. (4)

In a somewhat more extreme but nonetheless similar vein, Ghiberti, in his *Commentaries* (c.1430-50), argued that the best artists should have an understanding of grammar, geometry, philosophy, medicine, astrology, history, anatomy, and arithmetic. (5) Ghiberti distanced himself further from the medieval attitude by emphasising the artist's personal creativity, particularly his own; boasting of the individuality of his achievement, he wrote that "Few are the things of importance created in our country that have not been designed and carried out by my own hand". He included this statement in his autobiography, the first such work known to have been written by an artist. In the view of the Wittkowers, this development is of "the utmost importance", for an autobiography requires the writer to look at his own life "as an observer, seeing it in history and as part of history; it needs the distance of self-reflection", which was to become "an important character trait of the new race of artists". (6)

These arguments and this new attitude were clearly grandiose, and

the desired attributes would seldom if ever have been achieved in practice. However, these positions and statements are of significance in indicating new aspirations, and in the long term their repetition was partly responsible for a new conception of the artist and of the intellectual roots of painting and sculpture. These came to be seen as separate and superior to the 'crafts', which could not support these intellectual pretensions and which for the first time therefore became distinguished as being of a different, lower order, remaining classified as manual or mechanical.

Linked with these developments was a rebellion against the guilds and the patterns of artistic enterprise which they embodied. One of the most important examples of this rejection is the refusal in 1434 of the architect and sculptor Brunelleschi to pay his dues to the guild to which he belonged, the *Arte de Maestri di Pietra e Legnami*. This body in consequence had him thrown into prison, but through the intervention of the cathedral authorities of Florence, which were employing him, his release was secured and he continued to work without further interference. The "greatness of the man and of his task", the Wittkowers argue, gave his action "symbolic significance", and helped to form a climate which encouraged the effective emancipation of the artist, especially in Florence. (7)

These changes in the artists' perceptions and self-awareness are also reflected in, or correspond with, changes in the interests of patrons and clients. While previously a general requirement for skill and mastery in the crafts of painting and sculpture had existed, by the end of the fifteenth century, at least in Italy, there was a developing awareness of differentiation within skill, with an increasingly articulated sense of the artist's individuality. Baxandall argues that two important aspects begin to emerge clearly. First, painters became seen as individuals in competition, and secondly, discriminations were made "not only about one artist being simply *better* than another, but also about one artist being *different* in character from another". (8)

This changing attitude to the artist and his work, which begins to emerge hesitantly from about the middle of the fifteenth century, is made apparent in a note of this time by Giovanni Rucellai, a Florentine merchant, in which he wrote that he had in his house "more sculptures

and paintings, more inlaid works in wood and mosaic from the hands of the best masters who have been with us for a long time, not just in Florence but in all Italy ..." What is important about this particular *memoria* is that its author then proceeded to list only the names of the artists: "master Domenico of Venice, painter; Fra Filippo of the order [of the Carmelites], painter; Giuliano da Maiano, woodworker, master of inlaid wood and mosaics; Antonio di Jacopo del Pollaiuolo, engraver", etc. (9) This seems to reveal both an awareness of and interest in particular artists as individuals, whilst at the same time showing little obvious concern for the actual content of their works.

Further, whereas previously the patron or client clearly made demands on the artists they were involved with, and expected them to be punctually and adequately met without argument or conflict, within the new perspective their definite superiority over the artist became less and less assured as the latter became more self-aware and independent.

This emergence of distinctions and preferences, of an awareness of artistic individuality and difference, is, as has been indicated, of vital importance for the general explanation of the occurrence of forgery. Though at this time the general position was not quite advanced enough to engender the practice, the necessary conditions for its birth were clearly being constructed.

Not unrelated to this new interest in the artist is the changing attitude in the fifteenth century to the relics of antiquity. These had never been completely ignored; for many centuries antique art had been used as a store of images and ideas, to be plundered as required. However, they had been approached, usually credulously, as materially representing a civilisation which for a long time had been regarded as continuous with the present: this supposed continuity from Roman civilisation was important, for example, for the legitimisation of the power of later rulers. In the Middle Ages therefore there was little historical awareness and no sense of a break with the past. There was "little or no antiquarian consciousness", and medieval man did not idealise the antique past "beyond its practical usefulness to the needs of the present". (10) Panofsky states that:

The Middle Ages accepted and developed rather than studied and restored the heritage of the past. They copied classical works of art and used Aristotle and Ovid much as they copied and used the works of contemporaries. They made no attempt to interpret them from an archaeological, philological or 'critical', in short, from an historical point of view. For, if human existence could be thought of as a means rather than an end, how much less could the records of human activity be considered as values in themselves. (11)

At best, there was a general lack of meaningful interest, whilst at worst the monuments and statues of antiquity were used as a convenient source of building supplies or lime. If included in the guide-books at all, they were indicated merely as landmarks. (12) There was, however, a specific response to obviously pagan images which, when they could not be usefully transformed into Christian ones, was superstitious and condemnatory; they were idols to be cast down or disfigured. No conception existed within which they could be separated from these positive or negative religious concerns; they could not be appreciated independently of some real or imagined representation.

The attitude of this time to the Roman past was paradoxical; according to Panofsky, "For the medieval mind, classical antiquity was too far removed and at the same time too strongly present to be conceived as an historical phenomenon." (13) Summing up the awareness in the Middle Ages, he argues that:

no medieval man could see the civilization of antiquity as a phenomenon complete in itself, yet belonging to the past and historically detached from the contemporary world - as a cultural cosmos to be investigated and, if possible, to be reintegrated, instead of being a world of living wonders or a mine of information. ... artists could employ ... the motifs of classical reliefs and classical statues, but no medieval mind could think of classical archaeology ... Once the Middle Ages had established their own standards of civilization and found their own methods of artistic expression, it became impossible to enjoy or even to understand any phenomenon which had no common denominator with the phenomena of the contemporary world. The high-medieval beholder could appreciate a beautiful classical figure when presented to him as a Virgin Mary, and he could appreciate a Thisbe depicted as a girl of the thirteenth century sitting by a Gothic tombstone. But a Venus or Juno classical in form as well as significance would have been an execrable, pagan idol while a Thisbe attired in classical costume and sitting by a classical mausoleum would have been an archaeological reconstruction entirely beyond his possibilities of approach. (14)

In contrast, though he did not actually rediscover antiquity, Renaissance man approached it and made use of it in a way which amounted ultimately to a redefinition and fundamental reappraisal of it. In the words of Bazin, he "turned to antiquity for confirmation of the destiny he proposed for himself". (15) Unlike the Middle Ages, the Renaissance constructed a "perspective distance" whereby classical civilisation could be understood as a different and coherent cultural system. Within this new awareness, "The classical past was looked upon, for the first time, as a totality cut off from the present; and, therefore, as an ideal to be longed for instead of a reality to be both utilized and feared." (16)

For the new humanists, with their scholarly interest in the texts and artifacts of the ancient world, both the artistic and literary works of that time were the exemplars by which contemporary products were to be judged. Antiquarian interest, involving a newly developed historical sense, became established by the middle of the fifteenth century, and thereafter serious and prolonged study of the remains of Rome and its empire was undertaken. Whilst in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance antiquities were sometimes preserved or found by chance, from the fifteenth century on, collections were systematically formed and excavations deliberately undertaken. (17) Initially interest seems to have been solely historical or emblematic in direction, but subsequently a more formal or aesthetic concern arose as well, with Roman sculptures becoming appreciated and desired not just for their associations but also for their surface qualities and beauty, that is, for their 'artistic' aspects. Prominent in the early appreciation of these values seems to have been Pope Julius II, who, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, created in his new extensions to the Vatican an enclosed court for the displaying of classical sculpture. According to Haskell and Penny, "the whole concept of displaying art in this way - this very notion of art in itself - was as new as it was unique, and it was hardly surprising that the impact was overwhelming: indeed, the classical antiquities kept in this walled garden ... set the standards by which art of all kinds was to be evaluated for more than three hundred years." (18)

What is important for the present argument from these developments

is the emergence of a perception which is historical, discriminating, and aesthetically interested. Understanding that the past was distinct from the present, and perceiving the former as being in some ways qualitatively superior, enabled originality and provenance to be valued; consequently part of the necessary conditions for forging had been constructed. The kind of interests which had previously been unique to the Hellenistic and Roman worlds had been returned to; this is perhaps not surprising since the emulation of aspects of these civilisations was the deliberate intention of the Renaissance humanists.

It is difficult to establish the relationship between these new interests in the antique and those towards contemporary artistic practice. Perhaps they both arose simultaneously and separately out of wider social changes, or possibly the revaluation of antiquity was actually the immediate precursor for the wider artistic awareness in which the individuality and style of contemporary paintings and sculptures became to be appreciated. But whatever the chain of events, the occurrence of these changes in this period created a new outlook in which the art of both the past and the present were fundamentally reevaluated.

—0—

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Some authors (e.g. Larner) trace the origins of these developments back into the fourteenth century, but the examples given to indicate a new awareness of the artist and his art tend to be isolated or ambiguous in their meaning; the fifteenth century seems more adequate as the period in which to place the substantial origins of changing perspectives.
2. A Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600* (1940), Oxford University Press, London, 1962, p. 49.
3. N Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1940, p. 31.

4. R Wittkower and M Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists*, Norton, New York, 1969, pp. 15-16.
5. A Martindale, *The Rise of the Artist*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1972, p. 101.
6. Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
8. M Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1972, p. 26.

This is made apparent, for example, in a memorandum to the Duke of Milan, who wished to employ some painters. His agent noted, somewhat vaguely, concerning four Florentine painters:

Sandro Botticelli, an excellent painter both on panel and on wall. his things have a *virile air* and are done with the best *method* and complete *proportion*.

Filippino, son of the very good painter Fra Filippo Lippi: a pupil of the above-mentioned Botticelli and son of the most outstanding master of his time. His things have a *sweeter air* than Botticelli's; I do not think they have as much *skill*.

Perugino, an exceptional master, and particularly on walls. His things have an *angelic air*, and very *sweet*.

Domenico Ghirlandaio, a good master on panels and even more so on walls. His things have a *good air*, and he is an expeditious man and one who gets through much work.

(Quoted in Baxandall, *op. cit.*, p. 26.)

9. Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
10. G Henderson, *Early Medieval*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972, pp. 151 and 178.
11. E Panofsky, "History of Art as a Humanist Discipline" (1940), reprinted in E Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 26.
12. M Greenhalgh, *The Classical Tradition in Art*, Duckworth, London, 1978, p. 47.
13. E Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art", in *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
14. *Ibid.* pp. 78-79.
15. G Bazin, *The Museum Age*, Desoer, Brussels, 1967?, p. 6.
16. E Panofsky, "Renaissance and Renascences", in E Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, Paladin, London, 1970, pp. 111-113.

17. Greenhalgh, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

18. F Haskell and N Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 7.

It should be noted, however, that these authors also observe that "antiquarians and, perhaps, most highly educated men of the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" studied "antique sculpture more for the light that it shed on history or literature than for its artistic merit. The amount of writing describing the beauties, discriminating the styles and assessing the artistic value of classical sculpture is negligible compared to the number of books devoted to topography, epigraphy and iconography for which taste was irrelevant. It is worth remembering that the 'founders of critical archaeology' in mid-sixteenth-century Rome - among them Pirro Ligorio - belonged to the circle of Don Antonio Agustin, a very erudite scholar but a man who doubted whether it was worth excavating nude figures because they yielded "no new information" and who scorned the Villa of Pope Julius - that is, the Belvedere - with its "Venuses and other salacious figures". (*ibid.*, p. 45)

CHAPTER 13

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE ARTIST

The beginning of the sixteenth century marks a critical point in the changing evaluation of art and artists. It is from this date that the modern system of the arts can substantially be traced. Whilst the groundwork had certainly been prepared in the previous century, it was only at this time that many of the new strands became clear and consolidated. (1)

Much of what is new is apparent, for example, in the dealings between particular painters and Isabella d'Este, wife of Gian Francesco II Gonzaga of Mantua. The 'modern' attitude, central to her patronage, is shown by her attempt to construct a *studio* of paintings by the most celebrated artists of the time. Who the paintings were by was as important, if not more so, than what was actually depicted, and their admired authors were dealt with by her in a way which would have seemed incredible a century earlier. For example, desiring an allegorical painting by Giovanni Bellini, she ultimately accepted the painter's dislike of the proposed subject, and wrote to her agent in Venice in 1501 that "If Giovanni Bellini is so unwilling to do this story as you write, we are content to leave the subject to his judgement, so long as he paints some ancient story or fable with a beautiful meaning." (2) Subsequently, in 1505, still wishing an allegory, Isabella wrote again to the artist, "begging" him "to consent to painting a picture", leaving the poetic invention to him "to make up", if he did not want it to be given to him. As well as proffering "the proper and honourable payment", she concluded that, if the painter should heed her desire, then she would "be under an eternal obligation" to him. (3) Nonetheless, she seems to have commissioned Pietro Bembo, the humanist and poet, to make up the subject for the commission. Reporting back to his mistress, however, Bembo wrote that the invention for the composition would have to be left to Bellini's own imagination, since

"He dislikes having precise terms imposed on him, preferring, as he says, to let his thoughts wander in his pictures at pleasure ..." (4)

Isabella was even more resigned to the independence of Leonardo da Vinci. In her quest for a work of his, she wrote in 1501 to her Florentine correspondent, Fra Pietro, Vicar-General of the Carmelites, asking him to find out if Leonardo would "take on a picture for our *studio*". If the artist would be "pleased to do this", then "both the subject and the time of doing it" was to be left to him. (5) In a later letter, of 1504, sent directly to Leonardo, Isabella concluded her request for a painting of the young Christ by pleading: "If we are gratified by you in this strong desire of ours ... we shall remain so obliged to you that we shall think of nothing else but to do you good service, and from this very moment we offer ourselves to act at your convenience and pleasure." (6) The deferential position which previously had been that of the artist was now becoming that of the patron.

The significant shift in the valuation of artists in Italy at this time is further made clear by Albrecht Dürer, who wrote in 1506 from Venice to his friend Pirckheimer, stating how in Italy he was "a gentleman", while at home he was seen as "a parasite". (7)

The change in the balance of power away from the patron towards the artist, as indicated in the correspondence of Isabella d'Este, became more general in the following decades, with fewer and fewer demands being made of at least the most famous painters and sculptors. Titian, for example, in the whole period of his association with Philip II of Spain, was seldom given any instructions concerning the subject matter to be illustrated in either his religious or profane paintings. According to Hope, by this time, "artists were simply not prepared to accept a totally subordinate position, nor were they expected to do so". (8) Michaelangelo's position as an artist is quite clear on this point; he is reported as stating, "I am no shopkeeper painter or sculptor. I beg that none may be set in authority over me in matters touching my art." (9) Further evidence of this new intransigence of the artist, and the acceptance of it, is found in the preface by the poet Annibale Caro to his scheme for the decoration of the study of Alessandro Farnese in his villa at Caprarola. The themes to be painted there, he wrote, "must

needs be adapted to the disposition of the painter, or he must adapt his disposition to your theme. Since it is clear that he did not want to adapt to you we are compelled to adapt to him ..." (10)

This qualitative change in the response to the artist and his practice at this time is further shown by a shift in the setting of payment for the commissioned works. Isabella d'Este again led the field: in her letter of 1504 to Leonardo, she wrote that he himself was to determine the payment to be made for the work she was requesting. (11) Similarly, Duke Alfonso I d'Este of Ferrara wrote in 1530 to Michelangelo that he would leave the valuation of a painting of *Leda* entirely to Michelangelo's assessment.

Michelangelo's attitude to the worth of his own labour was recorded by Francisco de Hollanda, who in his *Dialogues* attributed to Michelangelo the statement:

I value highly the work done by a great master even though he may have spent little time over it. Works are not to be judged by the amount of useless labour spent on them but by the worth of the skill and mastery of their author. Were it not so, one would not pay a larger sum to a lawyer for giving an hour's attention to an important case than to a weaver for all the cloth he weaves during a lifetime or to a peasant who toils all day at his digging. (12)

Similarly, Dürer wrote, in his *Outline of a General Treatise on Painting* (c.1512), that "a wonderful artist should charge highly for his art ... no money is too much for it." (13)

The old medieval system of pricing based on size, materials and time spent was clearly breaking down, and a much greater disparity in prices was now becoming established. Only at the middle and lower ends of local everyday production did the old artisan price-fixing survive to any extent. (14) By the middle of the century the changes had become such that Felipe de Guevara could write that "It is comical that nowadays there are painters so simple-minded that they think their works have much merit depending on how many days they have worked on them and others so stupid that they discredit their work as of no value if it were executed in just a few". (15)

This acknowledging of differences between artists, as found in Isabella's quests for the works of particular painters, and also the

acceptance that some artists' work was worth much more than others, are two of the important features which define the new Renaissance outlook. Interlinked with these, and making a third, is the construction of a new attitude to the creative process and the notion of the artist as "genius". It is this concept of genius, the "idea that the work of art is the creation of an autocratic personality, that this personality transcends tradition, theory and rules, even the work itself, is richer and deeper than the work and impossible to express adequately within any objective form", which is, according to Hauser, the "fundamentally new element in the Renaissance conception of art". (16)

In the Cinquecento "invention" replaced the imitation of nature as the foremost aim of artistic work. Instead of diligence and labour expended on careful execution (*diligenza e fatica delle cose pulite*), artistic ecstasy (*il furore dell'arte*) was established as the new measure of appreciation. (17) This emphasis on the imagination also contributed to the new evaluation of the artist's accomplishments. (18) Artistic creation was now seen as resting "upon inner vision, upon inspiration", and the image of the artist was of one "who creates his work driven by an irrepressible urge". The artist was seen as "the stylus of god" (19) Michelangelo, who represents the full emancipation of the artist, was referred to as "divine" even during his lifetime. Now, Hauser argues, the final change was accomplished: "The world whose glory it was [the artist's] task to proclaim, now proclaims his glory; the cult of which he was the instrument is now applied to him; the state of divine favour is now transferred from his patrons and protectors to himself." (20)

This notion of the artist creating "from within himself" became more and more accepted from the sixteenth century on, resulting in "an increasing subjectivity, an increasing impregnation of the work of art with features derived from the individual personality of the artist"; the work of art came to be seen as an expression of the artist's "soul". (21) Dürer, for example, saw the artist as "inwardly filled with forms" and "creating just as God did". (22) These perceptions were in complete contrast to the position of the Middle Ages, where creativity was seen as the preserve of the Almighty alone; "the creature", according to St. Augustine, "cannot create". (23)

A consequence of this was that the artistic "fragment", drafts, the unfinished work generally, which previously could have been of little or no interest, came to be appreciated in their own right as part of the expression of the artist's vision. Thus, it could be stated in the guidebooks to Florence that the uncompleted slaves by Michelangelo in the grotto in the Boboli Gardens were more beautiful and more impressive in that state than if they had been completely finished. (24) Similarly, drawings, which previously had been "merely a disposable stage in workshop procedures", came to be seen as objects of independent artistic and aesthetic merit, which revealed the artist's creativity and were therefore worthy of admiration and preservation. (25) Such interests contrast completely with the Medieval understanding that the most adequate work was that which was most finished in the sense of craftsmanship.

The artist of genius was seen as containing "an inborn and uniquely individual creative force" (26), and in contrast to the view and practice of the Middle Ages, artists were seen as born and not made. Leonardo for example thought that painting "cannot be taught to those not endowed by nature" (unlike mathematics which could be learned by sheer application), while later in the century, Lomazzo argued that "those who are not born painters can never achieve excellence in this art, that is, if they are not blessed with creative gifts and the concepts of art from the cradle". (27) Similarly, for Vasari grace in art came from Heaven and Nature and could not be achieved "either by study or by imitation". (28)

This new and intense individuality was also accompanied by an awareness of and interest in the artist's particular 'style', which was now consciously differentiated from that of others, with the merits of each becoming a serious matter of debate; Castiglione, for example, observed that while Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo and Giorgione were all excellent artists, each was quite unlike the other and was "most perfect in his own style". (29) Individual style was also assiduously cultivated by the artists themselves. Cellini, for example, boasted in his *Autobiography* that he worked "in quite a different style from any other artist". (30)

The artist's talents, ideas, and works were now coming to be seen as

personal to and inherent in him. Following from this view, there was an acknowledgement of the primacy of originality in conception and execution; no longer could reproduction of the surface appearance of another work be considered as producing an equivalent work. This new outlook was explicitly expressed by Leonardo da Vinci in his treatise on painting. Painting, he wrote:

cannot be copied as can words and phrases, where the copy is worth as much as the original. It cannot be cast, as sculpture can, where the cast is worth as much as the original, insofar as the excellence of the work is concerned. It does not have an infinity of progeny as does the printing of books. Painting ... honours its author and remains precious and unique, never bringing forth children equal to itself. (31)

A similar awareness seems to have developed on the opposite side, on that of the copier. According to Ferrari, "the maker of a copy, regardless of his purpose, became aware that his activity was reproducing and that his rights were different from the creator's as far as "intellectual property" was concerned". There developed an enormous difference between the attitudes of the medieval craftsman and the Renaissance artist. The making of reproductions "tended to take on a definite character and hence became a specialized activity", and it became "subject to the economic laws governing craft production, which were more and more sharply distinguished from genuine artistic production". (32)

Summing up these changes, the Wittkowers observe that appreciation of invention and originality grew rapidly from the end of the fifteenth century, with those who "regarded artistic talent as ordained by Providence or Nature and admired the works of great artists as unique and inimitable", developing "a respect for authenticity and, implicitly, a weariness of copies" (33)

Essential conditions necessary for the development of the forging and passing off of the work of one artist as that of another had been created through the construction of this awareness of artists' differences and individuality. An incentive for the practice to occur also existed through some artists' work now costing considerably more than others.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. It should be noted, however, that these new developments were still limited and restricted to a minority of both artists and the public - nonetheless, the existence of a shift at about this time, and its significance, is clear.
2. Quoted D S Chambers, *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance*, Macmillan, London, 1970, p.127
3. *Ibid.*, p.130.
4. R Wittkower and M Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists*, Norton, New York, 1963, pp.35-36.
5. D S Chambers, *op. cit.*, p.144.
6. *Ibid.*, p.147.
7. E Panofsky, "Artist, Scientist, Genius: Notes on the "Renaissance Dämmerung"", in W K Ferguson et al., *The Renaissance: Six Essays*, Harper & Row, New York, 1962, p.167.
8. C Hope, "Artists, Patrons, and Advisers in the Italian Renaissance", in G F Lytle and S Orgel (eds.), *Patronage in the Renaissance*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1981, pp.304-306.
9. F P Chambers, *The History of Taste*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, p.245.
10. Quoted in Hope, *op. cit.*, p.306.
11. D S Chambers, *op. cit.*, p.147.
12. Quoted in Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p.61.
13. Quoted in M Rader and B Jessup, *Art and Human Values*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1976, p.300.
14. M Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist* (1938), Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1981, p.285.
15. Quoted in J Snyder (ed.), *Bosch in Perspective*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1973, p.28.
16. A Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, vol.2, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962, p.61.
17. E Kris and O Kurz, *Legend, Myth and Magic in the Image of the Artist*, Yale University Press, London, 1979, pp.47-48.
18. *Ibid.*, p.47.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

20. Hauser, *op. cit.*, p. 60

Following from this new interest in the artist, and the awareness of his individuality, we also find in the sixteenth century the construction of extended artistic biographies and the development of the self-contained history of art. The most important representative of this type of writing was Giorgio Vasari, whose seminal *Lives of the most excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects* was first published in 1550. For the first time too there is found to any extent self-portraits of artists, and also pictures with the subject of the painter and his studio "depicted just as they were, without any religious, classical or planetary overtones". (M Levey, *The Painter Depicted: Painters as a Subject in Painting*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1981, pp.18-19.)

21. Kris and Kurz, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

22. Quoted in Kris and Kurz, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

23. It was, St Augustine had argued, "one thing to found and control that which is begotten out of the inmost and highest centre of causes, which is the work of God alone, and quite another to perform, according to the faculties granted by Him, some outward operation which produces something at one time or another, in this way or that". (quoted in Panofsky, "Artist, Scientist, Genius ...", *op. cit.*, p. 171.)

24. Kris and Kurz, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

25. F Ames-Lewis, *Drawings in Early Renaissance Italy*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981, pp. 2-3.

Held notes that by the seventeenth century, "writers, especially in Italy, were convinced that every scrap of paper on which a great artist had drawn was worth saving". He argues that "In the comments on drawings which stress their freedom, boldness, imagination, even capriciousness, we see reflected a concept of the function of drawing which goes back to Leonardo. If the artist, like the poet, works in a creative furor, drawings, being closest to the "hot" stages of inspiration, are apt to reveal to the beholder the thoughts (*pensieri*) of the artist more clearly than the paintings." (J S Held, "The Early Appreciation of Drawings", in *Latin American Art - Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, vol. III, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1963, p. 85.)

26. Hauser, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

27. Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 60; and A Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1962, p. 36.

28. Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

29. M Levey, *High Renaissance*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1975, p. 71.
30. F P Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
31. Leonardo da Vinci, *Treatise on Painting*, translated by A P McMahon, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1956, vol. 1, pp. 9-10.

Leonardo also argued that "nobody ought ever to imitate another's manner, because he will be called a grandson and not a son of nature, with respect to art". (*Ibid.*, p. 51)
32. O Ferrari, "Reproductions - The modern world", in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. , McGraw-Hill, London, 1965, col. 177.
33. Wittkower and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

CHAPTER 14

THE INDEPENDENT OBJECT

Alongside these qualitative changes in the regarding of the artist, the work of art too underwent significant shifts in estimation - like its producer, and not unrelated to the latter's emancipation, it too achieved independence. As Hauser observes, the "idea which the concept of the genius expresses in a subjective form - from the standpoint of the artist", was also given expression "in an objective form - from the standpoint of the work" in the autonomy of art. "The idea that cultural forms are independent of external laws", he concludes, "is the counterpart of the idea of the spontaneity of the mind." (1) Whereas in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance art remained fixed in the world of practical affairs, fulfilling particular external functions, by the early sixteenth century it had to some extent become its own object. The work of art had begun to find a justification on its own terms, by simply being itself, with art becoming that which went beyond imitation. (2)

This new independence was partly conceptual, following from the changing awareness and response to works of art, but it also had a physical dimension. Greater detachment and mobility of paintings followed from the increasing use of canvas as a base for them from the fifteenth century onwards. Further, developments in framing, which stressed the independent and coherent existence of paintings and reliefs and severed their direct relations with the surrounding space, also encouraged the move towards the self-contained art work. Ellwood and Braun argue that in the late fifteenth century "the artistic and practical value of frames as detaching agents became apparent in the discovery that a frame emphasises its picture, making it stand out from its environment". (3)

This increasingly autonomous existence and independence from external function were found both in new categories of self-contained

painting and sculpture, such as landscape, still-life and the bronze statuette, and in the re-evaluation and reworking of more traditional types. Similar developments also took place in the areas of music, where words were no longer a necessary part of compositions, and in literature, where a new appreciation of form began to be established. (4)

The developing secularisation of culture, as well as the influence of the newly independent creator, was partly responsible for this liberation. This first had impact in the area of poetry, in the fifteenth century, when, according to Antal, "a definite change in the judgement of poetry" took place "in the progressive intellectual circles of the upper middle class". Until then, poems had been judged exclusively in terms of their content and from the standpoint of theology and morality; as they became more worldly, however, they "came to be measured by aesthetic, or more accurately rhetorical standards". This change resulting from a more secular outlook, Antal argues, was of fundamental significance for the future attitude to art, as well as literature. (5)

According to Wackernagel, commissions for public works of art and artistically enriched domestic furnishings developed from the second third of the fifteenth century, and within the context of this type of commission there arose, albeit in a limited form, "a connoisseur's appraisal and appreciation of the intrinsic artistic value of a work of art, that is, of the formal, representational qualities that were emphasized in it for the first time, or in particular perfection and originality". (6) Within the field of painting there was a significant increase between the end of the fifteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth in the number of secular dated Italian pictures, with the proportions rising every decade from five per cent in 1480-89 to twenty-two per cent in 1530-39. (7)

Whilst secularisation *per se* is insufficient to account for the development of art as an autonomous activity - initially the majority of secular works were portraits, which would continue to have an immediate, constrained function - nonetheless, in practice it involved a move away from didacticism or illustration, and produced a necessary relaxation without which an independent evaluation of art could not have been achieved.

This new independence of the object is clearly indicated in Isabella d'Este's general attitude to her commissions and in those of some of her contemporaries. For example, in her desire in 1501 for a painting by Bellini (referred to in the previous chapter), while *carte blanche* was not completely given regarding content, it is clear enough that this aspect of the painting was considered to be of secondary importance and that the specific requirements as to subject matter, as found in earlier commissions, had been denied. Similarly, the subject of her commission to Leonardo was to be left to his choice. Other patrons acted in the same way, with, according to Shearman, "conditions of patronage becoming normal around 1520 whereby major works of art were commissioned solely as examples of their creator's *virtù* - the subject being thought so unimportant that it was often unspecified". (8) For example, in 1519 François 1 expressed "no greater wish than to have some work, even small" from Michelangelo, while in 1523 Cardinal Grimani reminded this artist about the work "already requested and promised by you, of which the choice of material and subject is yours, whether painting, or bronze, or marble - do whatever is most convenient to you". (9) Similarly, in 1531, Michelangelo was given complete discretion on whether to provide a painting or a sculpture for the fulfilment of an order. Likewise, Sebastiano del Piombo in a contract of 1524 was left free to choose the subject of a painting requested from him, with the only limiting proviso being that it should not be a picture of a saint (10), and Vasari was given complete thematic independence by Annibale Caro, who wrote to him in 1548, "as to the invention of the subject matter, I also leave this to you ... Provided there are two nude figures, a male and a female, (which are the most worthy subjects of your art), you can compose any story and any attitudes you like." (11)

What was occurring at this time, in Hauser's words, was a "transference of interest from the material content to the formal elements of the representation", with some art works, at least, coming to be judged "not from the standpoint of life and religion but from that of art itself". (12) Portraits, for example, which previously had been personal, and meaningful only as particular depictions, began to be sought as works of the artist and not as images of the sitters; the first known case of this occurring was in 1536, when the Duke of Urbino

bought a portrait of a 'woman dressed in blue' from Titian. (13)

Lack of real interest in content is also possibly apparent in Isabella d'Este's consideration of her paintings of subjects from classical mythology simply as "poetical inventions", this indicating, Burke argues, an interest in them "more as beautiful objects than as illustrations of a story with or without a moral - whatever the humanist adviser thought". (14) Titian similarly referred to his mythological paintings of the 1550s simply as *poesie* or poems (a term which suggests to Burke that these paintings were "not so much illustrations to a text as free fantasies on the part of the painter") (15); and it is evident that the main concern of his major patron, Philip II, was to obtain beautiful paintings, in which, according to Hope, any search for deeper meanings "would be quite inappropriate". (16)

This "shift in emphasis among the constituents of the function of a work of art" (17) occurred even in the area of religious painting. Thus paintings which were ostensibly portrayals of St George or St Jerome, for example, progressively came to devote more attention to the landscape 'background' than to the saints themselves, who became smaller and smaller parts of the overall compositions. This move, Burke thinks, indicates "a tension between what people, artists or patrons really wanted and what they considered legitimate". (18) Thus, Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St Anne*, whilst being in an altar form and having biblical content, was never in fact used as an altarpiece; its apparent purpose was almost denied, and it was instead primarily seen from the outset as an 'artistic' piece, a work of art in its own right. Style itself was becoming more and more emphasised, to the extent, for example, that Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia* of about 1515 can be considered by a modern commentator to be "almost intolerably conscious and contrived, artificial, sophisticated and inhumanly suave". (19) Levey argues that what was developing at this time was a climate where certain of the visual arts dispensed with "specific literary or religious subject-matter and purpose, serving instead as adjuncts to pleasant surroundings". (20)

There was now a growing awareness of 'taste', with "personal preference for this or that artist's style, regardless of subject-matter", with the artist's *art* itself becoming "the essential thing to

be appreciated". (21) Thus a small bronze for the Duke of Parma, Otavio Farnese, by the sculptor Giovanni Bologna, was described by the artist as a "group of two figures ... that might represent the Rape of Helen, or perhaps of Prosperine, or even of one of the Sabines, chosen to give scope to the science and accomplishment of art". (22) Similarly, the frescoes by Bronzino in the chapel of Eleanor of Toledo, in the Palazzo Vecchio, are according to Blunt, "variations on the theme of the human figure, entirely freed from any spiritual significance". Vasari's religious paintings are also seen to be of the same kind. (23) This is not to say that these works had no apparent content or meaning, but at least in some cases these had come to have a secondary purpose, becoming merely a vehicle for the primary display of artistry.

These new attitudes became more intensified in the middle and later parts of the sixteenth century, in the period now classified as 'Mannerist' (a term significantly derived from 'maniera', the Italian for style), when awareness of style became acute. In Shearman's phrase, Mannerism is "the stylish style" (24), within which there was a deliberate concentration on achieving poise and refinement, with the expression of artistic qualities taking precedence over the subject depicted. Thus, Freedberg argues:

what the Maniera painter saw, particularly in the paintings of the High Renaissance, was not the nature in them, but that which was explicitly their art; their substance of aesthetic form. Working from this aesthetic datum, the Maniera painter developed and elaborated it. What had been only a part, though a very important part, of the classical system, its aesthetic formalism, became a dominant preoccupation of the Maniera. (25)

In addition to this concern with 'style', there was also at this time conscious positive interest in the achievement of 'difficulty' and 'facility' in the execution of works. This is seen, for instance, in Vasari's attitude to Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*, which he deeply admired. This painting was for him "an exemplar in foreshortenings and all the other difficulties of art"; it "opened out the way to facility in this art in its principal province, which is the human body". As Blunt comments, he seems here to be discussing "an academic exercise in trick drawing", with the emotional significance of the work not being

spoken of at all. (26) An even more explicit pronouncement on this area came from Paolo Pino, who in 1548 advised artists that in all their works they should "introduce at least one figure that is all distorted, ambiguous and difficult, so that you shall thereby be noticed as outstanding by those who understand the finer points of art". (27)

That this recommendation was accepted and acted upon is made clear by the opposition that was provoked by such new attitudes. For example, Gilio, in *Degli Errori de' Pittori* of 1564, lamented that "modern painters when they undertake a work first think of twisting their figures - the heads, arms and legs - so that one can say that they are *sforzate*, and these *sforzi* are sometimes such that it would be better to do without them"; and further, in confirmation of the argument that form was coming to be seen as primary, he concluded that, "As for the subject of the work they undertake, they give little or no thought to it". Similarly, in 1549, Michelangelo had been attacked, arguably quite unfairly, as "the inventor of obscenities, who cultivates art at the expense of devotion". (28) This concern with the unacceptable nature of the new artistic trend found its most weighty expression in the Council of Trent of 1563, which condemned "superfluous elegance" in religious paintings, and fought to exclude or eliminate any elements which could be construed as secular or pagan.

However, important as this opposition was, it was ultimately incapable of reversing the movement of the age. As Shearman concludes, "many of the features of the Mannerist period came to stay. The notion of the 'absolute work of art', with no other function to perform than that of being a work of art, has become so generally accepted that we now take it for granted". (29)

---0---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. A Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, vol.2, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962, p.65.
2. M Levey, *Early Renaissance*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1967, p.80.
3. G M Ellwood and A A Braun, "Italian Frames of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *Connoisseur*, vol.LXXXIII, 1929, p.205. See also generally H Heydenryk, *The Art and History of Frames*, Vane, London, 1964.
4. P Burke, *Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy*, Fontana, London, 1974, p.44; and F Antal, *Florentine Painting and its Social Background*, Kegan Paul, Trench & Trubner, London, 1948, p.289.
5. Antal, *ibid.*, p.111.
6. M Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist* (1938), Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1981, p.294.
7. Burke, *op. cit.*, pp. 187 and 333.
8. J Shearman, *Mannerism*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1967, p.163.
9. *Ibid.*, p.44.
10. Hauser, *op. cit.*, p.52.
11. C Hope, "Artists, Patrons, and Advisers in the Italian Renaissance", in G F Lytle and S Orgel (eds.), *Patronage in the Renaissance*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1981, pp.302-3.
12. Hauser, *op. cit.*, p.66.

It is not, of course, being argued here that all or even the majority of images were perceived in this new way. Indeed, the traditional religious and other functions of works of art were in many cases and areas to predominate for some centuries more. The power that religious paintings continued to evoke is clearly seen for example in the strictures of Savonarola at the end of the fifteenth century, in the activities of the iconoclasts in Northern Europe in the middle years of the sixteenth century, and in the reaction of the Council of Trent of the same time.

13. Burke, *op. cit.*, p.136.
14. *Ibid.*, p.147.
15. *Ibid.*, pp.147 and 189.
16. Hope, *op. cit.*, p.304.

17. Shearman, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
18. Burke, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.
19. M Levey, *High Renaissance*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1975, p. 50.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
22. Shearman, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
23. A Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1962, p. 87.
24. J Shearman, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
25. S J Freedberg, "Observations on the Painting of the Maniera", *Art Bulletin*, xlvii, 1965, p. 189.
26. Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
27. Shearman, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

CHAPTER 15

EXPANSION OF THE NEW WAY OF SEEING

The last few chapters have concentrated mainly on developments in the culture of Italy, since it was there that the new attitudes and interests first became most apparent and articulated. (The differing views, for example, of Dürer and his work in Italy and his native Germany have already been mentioned.) Where other countries related to and incorporated the new artistic ideals, the impetus almost invariably emanated directly or indirectly from Italian sources. This reception and assimilation took hold in the other countries of Europe to a greater or lesser extent at different times in the centuries following the Renaissance in Italy, and initially at least its spread was often disjointed or only partly achieved. (1) This section outlines the expansion of these new "ways of seeing" beyond the Italian borders.

By the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, Italian standards and taste had begun to impress and dominate European high culture. Italian art, Martindale states, "became the only fashionable art and compromise with the local tradition was no longer acceptable". (2) Almost all of the Northern capitals were affected to some extent, and visits to the fountainhead of Italy became an essential part of the education of the more aware scholars and artists. According to the Portuguese painter Francisco de Hollanda, writing in 1548, "Neither painters or sculptors nor architects can produce works of significance unless they make the journey to Rome". (3) Gilmore has summed up the trend:

Italian forms and fashions were carried to faraway Moscow, where architects from Bologna were employed in the rebuilding of the Kremlin, and to Poland, where the Sforza wife of a Jagellon king brought with her scholars, courtiers and artists who created for themselves a centre of Renaissance culture. Likewise in Hungary the Italian marriage of Mathias Corvinus produced a court modeled on the Italian example. From

France, Germany, the Netherlands, England and Spain an increasing succession of artists and scholars went to Italy and returned to their native countries with new ideas. In the Netherlands and Germany painting was increasingly affected by Italian influences and in France, among the architects and artists imported by the court in the wake of the Italian wars, Leonardo da Vinci was installed at Amboise by Francis I. Italian became and continued, at least till the time of Milton, to be the second modern language of educated men. (4)

The main concern here, however, is not with the diffusion abroad of Italianate style and forms as such, but rather with the construction in the other countries of Europe of the associated modern attitude to art and artists. There is, however, a significant complication here: whereas in most countries from early on Italian art and artists were accepted, with the concomitant acceptance, at least partially, of the new "ways of seeing", at the same time indigenous artists and their work continued to be viewed from a more traditional perspective. (For example, the railing of Hogarth in England against the interest in Italian art and painters, to the detriment of the home variety, has already been mentioned.) This was at least partly due to Italian art possessing a feature absent in other European art. As Martindale notes, "it was associated with a literary tradition which provided not only rules which enabled the layman to judge beauty, but also a nascent vocabulary of art criticism ... The means existed towards the end of distinguishing 'right' from 'wrong' in art, as if the Italians had eaten from a new Tree of Knowledge". Increasingly throughout the sixteenth century this came to mean that "any form or work of art based on antique models was 'right', while the rest (which included most northern art in any form of Gothic idiom) was wrong..." (5) The effects of this concentration on Italian and Classical art are apparent in the collecting practices across Europe, as is shown in the next chapter.

However, for all of the limitations which existed, the point to be acknowledged here is that from quite early on there was sufficient appreciation of the merits of antique works and the greatness of Italian Renaissance artists, and to a lesser extent also of Northern past-masters such as Bosch, Dürer and Cranach, to allow at least some scope for the general expansion of the conditions which it has been argued are necessary for the development of forgery.

The story of the native artists is that of a slow struggle to achieve some sort of parity with the Italian exemplars. In due course, across Europe they were more or less to succeed in this aim.

Thus in France, the country which most prominently embraced the emulation of Italian artistic achievements, patronage was consistently extended throughout the first half of the sixteenth century to Italian artists, including some of the most famous, especially by Francois 1 at Fontainebleau. But the French artist nonetheless remained an artisan, working within the rules and constraints of the Guild of Saint Luc, otherwise known as the *Maîtrise*, which regulated the painter's life from apprenticeship, through his work as a *compagnon*, to his becoming a *maître*. The rules were severe, with no painter being allowed to exhibit or sell his works unless admission to the *Maîtrise* had first been gained. It is not therefore surprising that Poussin, for example, who held views on the artist's position similar to those of Leonardo and Michelangelo, spent almost all of his adult life in the freer climate of Italy. (6)

It was not until the founding of the Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1648, emulating those established in Italy in the previous century, with its intellectual and professional pretensions, that the standing of the artist was improved. (7) Even then, since there were only twenty members, only the most successful painters and sculptors were honoured. It has also to be admitted that even these artists remained constrained in their work in a most definite way, working as they did for an absolutist monarchy which it was their prime function and duty to aggrandise. Pevsner notes that the academician's "social position was higher than that of most of his foreign colleagues, but he had become so much of a servant to the court that he was less free in his art than they". (8) Nevertheless, the formation of the Académie was an important development, symbolising at least the partial liberation of the French artist. For our present purposes, the point to be emphasised is the emergence of an attitude which appreciated the artist and his work as warranting a certain respect, with a general movement towards the position which had been earlier established in Italy. (9)

Similarly, in Spain, artists and theorists struggled throughout the seventeenth century to improve the artist's status and to establish

painting as a liberal art rather than as a mechanical craft. The first treatise to argue for the distinction was Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Ríos' *General View of the Esteem in which the Arts are held, and the way in which liberal arts are distinguished from the lowly crafts*, published in 1600. As well as the general principle behind this movement, artists also had a direct pecuniary interest in its success, since the work of artisans was subject to a sales tax, the *alcabala*. The resentment against the imposition of this tax resulted in almost a century of legal actions by painters against the treasury before they were finally exempted. One of the first to bring a suit was El Greco, who in 1603 won a case against the tax collector of Illescas, who had attempted to claim tax on the artist's paintings for the Hospital of Charity. This was one of seven decisions in favour of the painters which led ultimately to the government's acceptance of painting as a liberal art in 1677. (10)

In the Spanish artist's quest for status, Glendinning argues, "the ability to draw from nature was crucial. To copy another artist's work slavishly was to do no more than any craftsman did when he followed a pattern or used an established technique." Further, knowledge of the Bible and familiarity with the Church Fathers, useful for undertaking religious paintings, "helped to widen the social gap between artists and practitioners of the crafts". At the same time as this improvement in the status of the Spanish artist, there was also (as had occurred in Italy over a century before) a rise in genre works such as landscapes and still-lives, "in which the artists's eye was often more important than the object represented". (11)

In the Spanish Netherlands a minority of artists were by the middle of the sixteenth century also claiming liberal status for their profession. One of these was Frans Floris, who depicted *The Awakening of the Arts* in a signed painting of about 1559. (12) At about this time too, Filipczak argues, there was some conception of painting as "an activity that had an independent history in which progress resulted from the contributions of individual masters". (13) This outlook was reinforced in the following century by Rubens among others. In 1603 he wrote, "I have always guarded against being confused with anyone, however great a man"; and in 1637 he argued that "it is necessary ... to

speak of individual personalities". (14) By the 1630s the image of the profession had become greatly improved, in large part secured by the achievements of Rubens and van Dyck, both of whom by this time had received knighthoods and whose earnings were unprecedented.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, Filipczak states, "the status of Antwerp artists as a group reached its highest known level", with the majority of painters now belonging to the prosperously middle class. (15) She argues that comparison of the artist's position in Antwerp at this time with that of the main Italian art centres, "no longer yields the dramatic contrasts of the mid-sixteenth century, when Italy still led Europe in promoting a more elevated conception of the artist's profession". (16) The guild system was losing its position, and in 1663 Philip IV consented to the setting up of an academy of art, following the Italian examples of the previous century (academicians, however, also remained members of the guild of Saint Luke). The membership of the academy was deliberately exclusive, restricted to painters, engravers and sculptors; artisans and dealers - fellow guild members - were excluded, since the former were mechanical and the latter openly pursued financial gain. (17)

In seventeenth century Holland, however, there remained a strong native art little influenced by recent external developments, which was produced by workers who identified with the old craft and guild traditions, and which was consumed by a public which had not generally taken on board the new connoisseurs' interests. For most of the century, which produced the great period of Dutch art, the artistic fashions of southern Europe had only minimal influence on Dutch painters: their low social status "preserved them from the influence of the cosmopolitan intellectuals with their theory of art, which was the product of a literary and classical culture" and which was not readily reconciled with the art of the Netherlands at that time. (18)

Painters were clearly still mainly regarded as artisans, and they remained subject to their guilds' regulations (although the power of these was on the decline during the seventeenth century, and solidarity among members was breaking up). (19) Even at the time of Rembrandt, Alper's argues, "much art-making in the Netherlands was still bound to the craft world of guild and workshop rather than to a privileged and

literate society beyond". (20)

Costs were frequently based on finish, with time devoted to execution rather than to invention, as in Quattrocento Italy. (21) Painters produced untheoretically what was in demand, and looked to a wide community of customers for large sales at relatively low prices. It is important to note, however, that the popular images were landscapes, still-lives, flower paintings, and pictures of interiors, as well as portraits, which indicate some acceptance of the modern conception of freestanding and independent art and the new "way of seeing"..

According to Montias, "In the early years of the seventeenth century most paintings were judged by their visual impression alone ..." (22) By the mid century, however, the names of artists began to matter more: with attributions appearing with increasing frequency in inventories, and "artist's signatures ... accepted by a wide circle of consumers as a signal of quality." (23) In some inventories original works (principaelen) were distinguished from copies or paintings made after (naer) particular artists. (24) This clearly represents a significant change in attitude towards the artist, in tune with modern developments elsewhere.

Also, for all of the weight of the native tradition, Italian culture (and also that of the Italianised France) began to have a definite impact on the elite social strata, which cultivated the connoisseur's interest in foreign art. Allied to this was a small number of painters who struggled to be recognised as members of a new artistic class on the Italian model and the similar one which was developing in France. Foremost among these was Rembrandt. He was, Alpers argues, "not only unwilling to play the social game with patrons, he was also unwilling to produce works that could be paid for, and hence valued, in the accustomed way". (25) The lack of finish of his paintings challenged the normal calculation of painterly value. His work, although clearly attributable to him, refused to show the artist's labour in the form expected or accepted. Dutch artists and their work were entering the modern age.

England, too, came late to viewing her own artists in the modern fashion, although there had been an early enough appreciation of the

merits and status of Italian and some other foreign masters. "The patronage of the aristocracy", Pye, that scourge of the establishment, stated, "was bestowed on portrait painters (principally foreigners), and on such other persons only as could aid them in acquiring the works of other nations and other times" (26); and Jonathan Richardson noted as late as 1715 that "the Word *Painter* does not generally carry with it an Idea equal to that we have of other Professions ..." (27) In the course of time, however, British artists, although they had had to wait longer than those of other countries for social recognition and an authoritative institution reflecting this, also achieved their place (after a fashion) in the sun. After a number of false starts a Royal Academy, which dignified the social position of at least some English artists, was finally set up in 1768. (28)

By the end of the eighteenth century the effects of the Enlightenment across Europe had finally destroyed the last remnants of the medieval style of life and with this any remaining aspects of the guild system. Contradictions and oppositions remained - philosophical positions on the arts were not coherent; radical artists attacked the new academic establishment; inequalities persisted - but beyond all of these the final liberation of the artist and art had been achieved. As Pevsner notes, "The doctrine of the freedom of Art is the fundamental tenet of nineteenth-century aesthetics". The artist now "regarded himself as the bearer of a message superior to that of State and society. Independence was consequently his sacred privilege". (29) The nature of art had changed almost to the complete opposite of that of pre-Renaissance societies. It had become divorced from all social ties, with the romantics sweeping away the content of art, and creating "at least the conception of pure Form". (30) Any subject, it was believed, could become the basis of a work of art. This led ultimately to a state where Clive Bell could write:

The representative element in a work of art may or may not be be harmful; always it is irrelevant. For, to appreciate a work of art we need bring with us nothing from life, no knowledge of its ideas and affairs, no familiarity with its emotions. Art transports us from the world of man's activity to a world of aesthetic exaltation. (31)

The consequence of these momentous developments was to turn art and the artist into independent entities which were acknowledged as important (though often for unclear reasons) and individual (within the definite species of Art). The artist had become a superior, noteworthy being, often outwith the bounds of civil society, and his work was free of constraint. Two of the conditions which we have been teasing out as requirements for the occurrence of forgery were now all-pervasive.

---0---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. It should be noted, however, that even in Italy too the traditional outlook persisted in many areas and continued to constrain many artists for a considerable period. See N Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1940, pp.67-69 and *passim*.
2. A Martindale, *Man and the Renaissance*, Hamlyn, London, 1966, p.111.
3. Quoted in R Wittkower and M Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn - The Character and Conduct of Artists*, Norton, New York, 1969, p. 46.
4. M P Gilmore, *The World of Humanism*, Harper & Row, New York, 1952, p.245.
5. Martindale, *op. cit.*, p.112.
6. D Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-Century France*, Batsford, London, 1970, pp.142-43.
7. Henri Testelin, writing in 1680, was clear on this, noting that until Academy's establishment, "painters and sculptors were lumped together with daubers, marble cutters and polishers of marble in a mechanic society known as the Maîtrise". (quoted Maland, p.145)
8. N Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1940, p.139.
9. Even then, however, the more medieval traditions and practices lived on in the competing Académie de Saint-Luc, which had emerged out of the old guild in 1730. (H C White and C A White, *Canvases and Careers - Institutional Change in the French Painting World*, Wiley,

New York, 1965, p.11) It was not until this was closed in 1776, and the publication the following year of the *Déclaration du Roy concernant les Arts de Peinture et Sculpture*, which officially asserted the nobility of painting and sculpture and that they should be "perfectly assimilated to letters, sciences, and other liberal arts" and not be "confused with mechanic arts", that the modern position of the French painter's status was in any way complete. (G Levitine, *The Dawn of Bohemianism*, Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, 1978, pp.13-14)

10. R Enggass and J Brown, *Italy and Spain 1600-1750 - Sources and Documents*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1970, p.167; and Royal Academy of Arts, *The Golden Age of Spanish Painting*, Introduction by N Glendinning, London, 1976, p.14.
11. Glendinning, *ibid.*
12. Z Z Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987, p.13.
13. This is indicated for example by a series of portraits of fifteenth and sixteenth century Netherlandish painters which was published in 1572. (*Ibid.*, p.14)
14. *Ibid.*, p.158.
15. *Ibid.*, p.192.
16. *Ibid.*, p.194.

It has to be admitted, however, that this position was partly the result of Italy having also seen some decline in the high status of the artist since the Renaissance.

17. *Ibid.*, p.166-67.
18. J L Price, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic During the Seventeenth Century*, Batsford, London, 1974, p.140.
19. *Ibid.*, pp.120-21.

Price notes that "In Amsterdam at least the gild was unable to enforce its monopoly, and many painters worked outside the old system for many years without the gild being able to do anything effective about it. On the whole, however, most painters were gild members", at least in the first half of the century, and probably into the second as well.

20. S Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise - The Studio and the Market*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1988, p.18.

"Being an artist", Alpers states elsewhere, "was clearly a craft, not a calling in this society. Artists gave it up when better money was to be had by other means: the portrait painter Bol was one of a

number of artists who stopped painting when he made a good marriage, and Hobbema, the landscape artist, stopped when he was installed as a city wine gauger". (S Alpers, *The Art of Describing - Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1983, p.112)

21. Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, *ibid.*, p.114.
22. J M Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft - A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1982, p.218.
23. *Ibid.*

Montias notes that "notaries and their clerks became distinctly more conscious of the importance of appending an artist's name to a painting in the 1640s and 1650s. This represents a significant change in attitude towards painted objects described in inventories. There is no greater step in the metamorphosis of craft into art than the recognition that an object is the unique creation of an individual and that its worth ... will depend, at least in part, on the information ... on its maker. ... makers of furniture and silverware, with no known exceptions in the case of Delft-based artisans, remained anonymous in inventories during the period, apparently unable to gain recognition as artists transcending their craft." (p.227)

24. *Ibid.*, p.233.
25. Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise*, *op. cit.*, p.99.
26. J Pye, *Patronage of British Art*, London, 1845, p.27.
27. J Richardson in *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, 1715 - quoted in R Wittkower, "The Artist", in J L Clifford (ed.), *Man Versus Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1968, p.71.

Before this time, Wittkower notes, there had been "a long line of court painters who enjoyed special privileges, drew large salaries, attained the highest honours and were accepted by high society, but they were all foreigners, from Antonio Mor to Vandyck, Peter Lely and Godfrey Kneller". (p.73)

28. Importantly, Hogarth, who had long fought for recognition and improved status for English as opposed to foreign artists, was highly critical of moves to set up such an institution, since he saw behind it the real purpose of "a few bustling characters, who have access to people of rank" attempting to get "a superiority over their brethern". (quoted in Wittkower, *ibid.*, p.79)
29. Pevsner, *op. cit.*, p.240.

30. F P Chambers, *The History of Taste*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, p. 150.

It was Lessing, Chambers argues, who "originated the idea of technique in fine art, and made a step in the direction of the idea of pure art form, one and indivisible, manifesting itself indifferently in any technique, and in any subject. One art, he said, differs from another in its technique, one art is not superior to another, one subject is not more worthy to be represented than another." (p. 157)

31. C Bell, *Art*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1924, p. 24.

"To appreciate a work of art", Bell argued, "we need bring with us nothing but a sense of form and colour and a knowledge of three-dimensional space". (p. 27)

CHAPTER 16

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART COLLECTING

The historical emergence of two of the aspects argued as essential for the occurrence of art forgery - interest in originality and provenance; and independently existing art objects - should have been adequately established in the survey given above. It is now important to consider the third essential and related component, namely the existence of a system of appropriation for these objects. This principally involves the activity of art collecting. Without this, even when the other conditions are fulfilled, the possibility of forgery is in practice most unlikely (though not in principle impossible). (1)

The development of collecting is itself directly dependent on the art object achieving independence from specific function, in church, palace or wherever. It is not, however, so essentially integrated with the interest in "histories of production" (although in fact there has tended to be a conterminous relationship between these two areas). It is important to appreciate this last point, since it has been argued by Tietze that "Works of art have been counterfeited as long as they have been collected". (2) This view, however, is over deterministic and gives too central a position to collecting. As was argued earlier, only where an interest in collecting art for its own sake, with critical interest in and central valuation of "histories of production", is forgery given the conditions necessary for its construction and development. That art collecting can exist without regard being made to any "histories of production", and without apparently spawning forgeries, is made particularly evident by events in early seventeenth century Holland, which have been touched on in the previous chapter. Travellers in Holland in this period noted that a wide spectrum of Dutch society possessed collections of paintings. Peter Mundy, for example, who visited Amsterdam in 1640, wrote that

As For the art off Painting and the affection off the people to Pictures, I thincke none other goe beeyond them ... All in generall striving to adorne their houses, especially the outer or street roome, with costly peeces, Butchers and bakers not much inferiour in their shoppes, which are Fairely sett Forth, yea many tymes blacksmithes, Coblers, etts., will have some picture or other by their Forge and in their stalle. Such is the generall Notion, enclination and delight that these Countrie Native(s) have to Paintings. (3)

Similarly, John Evelyn, the English diarist, was the following year surprised by the great number of paintings, "especially Landscips, and Drolleries", he saw in Rotterdam. It was, he reported, "an ordinary thing to find, a common Farmor lay out two, or 3,000 pounds in this Commodity, their houses are full of them ..." (4) Montias notes that in Delft in the middle of the seventeenth century possibly two-thirds of the population lived in households possessing paintings, with the city's houses containing as many as forty to fifty thousand works. (5) While he is sceptical that the bulk of purchasers of Dutch art were lower-middle class, "the fact remains", he argues, "that paintings by guild-registered masters did penetrate into the middle and lower strata of Delft society, as had probably not been the case before the seventeenth century and still was not the case in France, England, or Italy at that time". (6)

The reasons for this, admittedly unusual, interest in Holland at this date are complex and would seem to be closely connected to the particular conditions of Dutch society. (7) For our present purposes, however, it is sufficient to note that at least in the earlier half of the century paintings were collected in what appears to be the modern fashion, that is, primarily as self-contained and decorative works. (8) However, little regard, if any, seems to have been placed on authorship. As was noted in the previous chapter, in Holland in the early seventeenth century most pictures were judged only by their visual impressions, with few attributions being made in inventories until at least the mid-century. (9) The producers of these paintings at this stage remained within a craft tradition, and individual prices were low. There is no evidence of forging of Dutch art at this time, which is not suprising in these conditions. It was not until the following century, when the artists of this "Golden Age" were extensively appreciated as important, individual painters - as 'artists' in the modern sense, rather than as 'craftsmen' - that serious

faking is to be found. (By the eighteenth-century, according to Montias, amateurs chiefly bought paintings "by old masters rather than the works of contemporary artists, a tendency that was said to be aggravated by the speculation and nefarious influence of art dealers". From a consideration of inventories from the period, he argues that it is clear that "the proportion of contemporary painters began to decline long before the eighteenth century, probably by the 1630s; in any event, the drop between the 1670s and the early eighteenth century was particularly steep". (10))

A number of further distinctions and clarifications have to be made. The main one is between 'collecting' and 'patronage'; and then a clarification within the field of collecting itself has to be considered.

Patronage essentially involves a direct, personal relationship between the party wishing some piece of work and the producer, the craftsman or artist. Within this relationship there can, however, be a wide range of types of association. At one extreme, the patron might provide the material environment within which the artist lives and works, with direct and detailed control of production. This was the common practice in most cultures up to and during the Renaissance, at least for the more expensive and elaborate types of work. Generally in such a relationship the artist was in a definitely servile position, though sometimes he could gain useful protection and have his particular interests advanced by his patron. In the culture of patronage of this type, as we have seen in a previous chapter, it was not uncommon for the patron himself rather than the artist to be credited with the significant creation of the art work. At the other extreme, patronage may be much more casual and intermittent, involving only limited contact between client and artist and the occasional commissioning of paintings or sculpture. Whatever the extent of the relationship, however, patronage necessarily involves some personal contact between the client and the artist, with the former influencing the work in some way. Thus the buying of an already completed work, even directly from the artist, cannot meaningfully be considered as involving patronage. (11)

In most historical periods the significant structure within which artists have operated has been that of patronage, with works - both religious and secular - being commissioned for specific purposes. It is

hardly credible in these circumstances, where there would be a direct and personal relationship between the patron/client and the artist, that the practice of forgery could intervene.

In contrast, the collector, as Steegmann has noted, "never directly affects the arts but is concerned only with buying something for the production of which he has been in no way responsible, even if he buys the work of his own contemporaries". (12) Further, the collector, unlike the patron/client, according to Wackernagel, is "interested in the art work for itself on account of its creator, its particular artistic qualities, or other noteworthy characteristics. As a collector he also endeavours to bring together as many possessions as possible of a particular, or even every favourite type." (13) The developments which made this a possibility have been dealt with in the previous chapters. Objects have to have been extracted from their immediate, practical, specific functioning before they could be appropriated, classified, or enjoyed in collections. This emergence of the collector is also clearly historically correlated to the rise of the independent artist. (14)

Some clarification of the meaning of 'collecting' also needs to be made. A primary distinction has to be drawn between the accumulation or hoarding of objects and the purposive collecting of them for their aesthetic values. We are therefore not interested, in terms of the arguments of this thesis, in for example the precious objects placed in ancient Egyptian tombs for use by the deceased in the life after death, or the mere fact that Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon of the sixth century BC had in his palace statues, reliefs and other objects, including one from the time of the reign of King Sulgi of Ur, of around 2000 BC. (15) Nor should the heaps of rare and precious objects taken as booty and deposited in temples and palaces be seen as purposive collections. For, whatever their primarily artistic merits to us, these types of accumulations were religious, juridical or political in nature, and resulted from "the need to exalt visibly the power of a national god, a ruler, or a city". (16) In contrast, the forming of art collections needs a specific interest involving the valuation of art works primarily for their aesthetic qualities or craftsmanship, overriding the social contexts of their construction.

In the light of the considerations in the previous chapters on the valuation of art, it should be clear that the first examples of art collecting in the West could in principle only arise in Greece and Rome. In practice, however, although there was some appreciation of aesthetic values and an acknowledgement of different artists' skills, there was little if any collecting in Greece due mainly to the public and religious nature of the artistic enterprise. Alsop states that "in Greece's great centuries, public patronage of the arts was both lavish and inspired. Yet there is no trace of Greek art collecting in these centuries; in addition, it is clear that private patronage of artists was strikingly sparse." (17) It was not until some centuries later, at the time of Alexander the Great, that an interest in classical Greek art and collecting arose, initially based on a nostalgic attitude to the old Athenian civilisation which had produced it. It is possible that art collecting had its beginning in the Greek world in the latter half of the fourth century BC. However, the first known significant collector was Attalus I of Pergamum of the mid-third century BC, who sought out works from the earlier great period of Greek art. (18) According to Taylor, "The Hellenic monarchs began systematically and reverently to collect the ruins and the fragments of the classic age and Sicyon became the gathering place for the art dealers of the empire". (19) It was from this beginning that the subsequent Roman vogue for collecting was derived. Not only did Rome conquer the Hellenic world, she also appropriated the culture that she found there. The first interests seem to have been formed as a result of Marcellus's defeat of Syracuse in 212 BC and his removal of its statues and treasures. According to Plutarch, "Prior to this Rome neither had nor even knew of these exquisite and refined things, nor was there in the city any love of what was charming and elegant ..." (20) This example was followed by Sulla, Lucullus and other military leaders. But these plundered objects essentially remained part of the public domain. It was probably not until after Mummius's sack of Corinth in 146 AD that Roman collecting became a private habit. (21)

Once begun, however, the practice quickly became common, with the East being scoured for Greek art works, the possession of which became a matter of prestige for wealthy Romans. The change in attitude is indicated by

Pliny's complaint that works of art had become inaccessible through being hidden away in private collections. Among the prominent collectors were Atticus, Appius Claudius, Lucullus, Varro, Pompey, Julius Caesar, and the notorious Verres. Julius Caesar, according to Suetonius, would "purchase at any cost gems, carved works and pictures, executed by the eminent masters of antiquity". (22) Of all the objects collected, Corinthian bronzes, with their distinctive patina and colour, were among the most prized. Seneca stated that these fetched fabulous prices "through the insanity of a few". This interest in collecting continued through the days of the Empire, with Nero and Hadrian being particularly lavish collectors. However, collecting fell away towards the end of the Empire as a result of political, social and economic changes. By the time of Constantine the Great in the fourth century AD Roman culture was in obvious decline. The ascendancy of Christianity, with its didactic attitude towards art, was the final blow. As a result, many collections of what was seen as pagan art were destroyed. (23) It should be noted, however, that even at its height, collecting at this time was limited to classical Greek and Hellenistic art. Even Roman art was only occasionally discussed in the sources which covered in detail the Roman collections of earlier Greek works, and the arts of other nations were of no interest, with the minor exception of the monumental art of Egypt. (24)

With this coming together of these interests of art appreciation allied with collecting, as we have seen, the origins of art forgery are also found.

Following the decline of Rome, collecting became again replaced by patronage and the accumulation and hoarding of precious objects. According to Taylor, in feudal society, "what collections there were, and they were few indeed, consisted chiefly of gifts of ambassadors and visiting sovereigns or occasional works of art, usually in gold and silver, taken in plunder in military excursions." (25) Otherwise, especially in Northern Europe, collections consisted of rarities (*curios*), which could include paintings, but these were really *wunderkammer* rather than art collections. Only in the period of the Renaissance is a definite art collecting interest to be found again. As Wackernagel notes, the "gradual emergence of the collector type in the sphere of late Quattrocento patronage" was "a

significant new phenomenon". (26)

The origins of a split between patrons and collectors in the Renaissance is considered by Wackernagel:

The desire and taste for elegant, ornamental splendour, for forms significant in their beauty or individuality, forms in which reality is artistically reshaped, are initially only a hardly conscious, undefined impulse. ... Only in scattered cases in the circles of the educated and wealthy does there already appear in the Quattrocento an occasional conscious appreciation of the work of art for its own sake and of important artistic personalities with their aesthetic peculiarities and accomplishments. In this context there is also an interest in older - ancient or medieval - as well as foreign, especially Netherlandish art. And therewith the patron - for whom the work of art is immediately significant for the fulfilment of a particular extraartistic function - is joined for the first time by the collector and connoisseur for whom the impetus to commission or acquire a work stems from its particular formal excellence or the individual mastery of certain prominent artists. (27)

Logan sees the systematic collection of works of art in Renaissance Italy as deriving mainly from collections of antiquities, with also some influence from collections of family relics and memorials. (28) From the early fifteenth century, he states, there had developed an interest in collecting antiques, and by the middle of the century this had become a passion in full flood. Initially the collections in the Po valley region seem to have been the most advanced, but the "mania" also became well established in Florence and in Rome at the papal court. The earliest collectors were mainly humanists, such as Poggio, Niccoli and Marsuppini, and artists, including Donatello, Ghiberti and Mantegna. (29)

By the early part of the sixteenth century the demand for antiquities had become acute. (30) According to the Milanese Giovanni Cristoforo Romano, in Rome at this time, "A great many people are interested in [antiquities] but it is difficult to procure them. If one is fortunate enough to be the first to espy a piece, one must then buy it on the spot; they ask high prices ..."; and in 1507 Giorgio Negroponte stated that "The moment that an object is dug up, a host of buyers miraculously appears. They give eight or ten ducats for rusty medallions which they resell later for twenty-five or thirty ...". (31)

Initially, collecting had been scholarly in purpose, but this became replaced, Salerno argues, by a "more hedonistic phase when collecting

antiquities became fashionable, almost a matter of obligation, among the ruling classes of the various courts of Italy". Collections of this new type included those formed by the Medicis, the Strozzi, the Rucellais and the Quaratesis in Florence, and some of the cardinals in Rome. (32)

In Florence an important development was marked by Piero de Cosimo and Lorenzo the Magnificent, who in addition to antiquities also included modern paintings in their collections. (33) And in Venice, Giorgione marked a turning point regarding the foundation of private picture collections. His customers, Francastel writes, were "individuals: members of an élite, but individuals all the same, who bought pictures to have them in the house, not to decorate the family chapel in their parish church." (34) By about 1530, Venice contained a number of important collections of art and antiques, and, outside the papal court, it held "the greatest diffusion of the non-princely art and antiquarian collection in the sixteenth century". (35)

Collectors could buy from the artist directly, and initially this was probably the main form of acquiring contemporary works of art. But the new interest in art for its own sake also opened up the possibility of works changing hands between collectors or dealers. Isabella d'Este, for example, bought in 1502 Michelangelo's *Sleeping Cupid* from Cesare Borgia, and Frederico Gonzaga in 1535 bought 120 Flemish pictures from another collection. (36)

In the first half of the sixteenth century, whilst the works of individual artists were clearly appreciated, it was not yet common to believe in the superiority of the 'Old Masters'. After the deaths of Michelangelo and Titian, however, it became generally recognised that a great creative period had ended, resulting in works by these artists continuing to be admired and sought after in a way which had only previously occurred with Raphael. (37)

By the latter part of the sixteenth century in Italy the supply of antique statues had become insufficient to meet the demand, and pictures instead became the main concern of the collector, with works in the style of Raphael (which had been described as "exemplary" by Lomazzo in 1590) being particularly sought after. Importantly, as von Holst notes, "The connoisseur's horizon was no longer confined to his own city or his own landscape." (38)

Collections of drawings had also begun to be made by amateurs from about the start of the sixteenth century, and by the latter half of it (influenced by collectors such as Vasari, Vincenzo Borghini, and especially Niccolo Gaddi) drawings were in regular circulation. "By this time", according to Held, "there had developed a demand for drawings by masters of the past as well as of distant regions, a demand which necessitated the use of agents and dependence on experts who could guarantee the genuineness of the merchandise." (39)

By the seventeenth century in Italy "collecting mania" had become fairly general, with Venice, apart from Rome, probably holding the lead in the number of its private collections. These concentrated on "the great heritage of the sixteenth century", with works by Titian, Veronese and particularly Tintoretto being especially collected. There was also interest in the paintings of the Bassani and in those of Andrea Schiavone, whose style was close to that of Tintoretto. Works by Giorgione were also prized, although those by Giovanni Bellini were not common. (40) Baroque Rome, similarly, "teemed with *amateurs* and *virtuosi* of all kinds, each with a gallery of pictures and antiques, which were eagerly visited by the foreign travellers who flocked to the city". (41)

During the sixteenth century art collecting also spread throughout much of western Europe. In Germany, for example, by about 1530 the Fuggers had started to collect "in the Italian manner", with Raimund Fugger, according to the family chronicle, being "a particular lover of antiquities". (42) And in France, Francis I and his courtiers had begun to acquire "pictures or pieces of statuary far removed from their place of origin" which were "valued for their artistic merits alone regardless of their original purpose". Francis was particularly eager to obtain works by central Italian High Renaissance masters, and was also interested in ancient art. (43) Catherine Medici, the daughter-in-law of Francis I and wife of Henri II, was also important in encouraging the spread of Italian ideas and attitudes to France. Described as "a woman of superb luxury", she wrote to her son, Charles IX, that his court "must acquire the dignity and decorum" which she had formerly found in Italy. (44) In Spain, Philip II collected early and late Netherlandish art, with a particular interest in the works of Bosch, whose paintings were especially sought after in

Spain by the middle of the century. Philip "treated his profane works in the manner of other princes" and kept over a hundred secular works in the Pardo Palace, which was described as "a second Fontainebleau". (45) The idea for such a gallery had come from Felipe de Guevara, courtier and Renaissance man, who was also a noted collector and author of the important *Commentaries on Painting*. (46) (Guevara's criticism of Bosch forgeries has already been discussed.) The royal court, Von Holst notes, also held "a considerable number of art lovers" in addition to Guevara. (47)

By the latter part of the sixteenth century, Northern Europe had attained a similar stage of development as Italy. However, whereas in Italy the main interest was in paintings by Perugino, Raphael, Andrea del Sarto and Fra Bartolommeo, collectors in the North in addition sought out the works of native artists who had been the contemporaries of these great Italians. Holbein was the favourite in Switzerland, Cranach was popular in Northern Germany, Quentin Massys was desired in the Netherlands, and Dürer was particularly prized in Austria and Bavaria. (48) One of the most important of the Northern collectors was Emperor Rudolf II of Prague (1522-1612), whom Van Mander considered to be "the greatest art-lover of our time". In addition to works by Dürer and Breughel, he also possessed an enormous number of antiques. (49) He belonged, Menz states, "entirely to the new age, for he was not solely concerned with completeness, in the sense of the ancient *Theatrum Mundi*, nor with the piling up of objects of intrinsic value; he enjoyed the fact of owning works of art that appealed to his personal, taste". (50) Another major collector of early German artists, and Dürer in particular, was Maximilian I of Bavaria, who built a galleria after the Italian fashion in which to house his paintings. Interestingly, he discontinued his efforts to obtain the *Isenheim Altar* when he discovered that it was by Grünewald and not Dürer. Also, he returned a *Martyrdom of St Lawrence* which had been sent to him from the Rhineland, stating that "neither he nor other experts recognised it as being from Dürer's hand nor in his manner of composition, although it was the work of a good old master". And he paid 1,000 guilders to the Imhoff family for Dürer's *Lamentation*, a sum possibly ten times that originally paid by Willibald Imhoff for the work. (51)

Queen Christina of Sweden, however, was less interested in Northern art, preferring that of Italy. She wrote in about 1650 that her collection

contained "an infinite number of items, but apart from thirty or forty original Italians I care nothing for any of the others. There are some by Albrecht Dürer and other German masters whose names I do not know ... I swear I would give away the lot for a couple of Raphaels." (52)

Antwerp, in the Southern Netherlands, also became a significant place for collectors in the first half of the seventeenth century. Sandrart recorded in 1608 that Antwerp was abundant with both riches and a love of the arts, and Rubens noted in a letter of 1611 that the city contained "countless numbers of people interested in works of small size". Private collectors were numerous there throughout the century. (53) The main interest seems to have been in contemporary painting and works from the period of Massys and Mabuse, although early Netherlandish masters were also valued. (54) Although in the early part of the century the majority of collectors appear to have been most interested in the subject matter of paintings, some did show a definite awareness of authorship and of the significance of originality. (55) By 1640 inventories typically attributed the majority of painting, sometimes even whole collections, and attempts were made to attribute authorship, if it was not clear, on the basis of style. Sculptures began to be attributed from about the 1650s. The development was clearly towards connoisseurship rather than traditional scholarship. Thus Anthony van Leyden was acknowledged in 1661 for his ability to distinguish forgeries from originals and to recognise paintings, prints and drawings as being the work of particular artists. (56) It was also stated in a letter of 1648 that the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, one of the most important collectors of the Southern Netherlands, when in Antwerp, wished "to buy paintings according to his own desire and taste, choosing them for their beauty and art accord to his own inclination". (57)

One interesting development which was almost unique to Antwerp at this time, and which is significant regarding the subject of collecting, was the invention of a new type of genre painting with the subject matter of picture galleries. According to Filipczak, this genre of gallery paintings originated in Antwerp in either the first or second decade of the seventeenth century and remained indigenous to that city for the rest of the century. "No previous genre in the history of European painting", she argues, "had been equally self-referential, having paintings themselves as its main subject." She notes that "The sheer number of pictures included

in these gallery paintings ... the variety of authorship and of subject matter, as well as the mode of display in neat, tightly spaced rows suggest that the religious, political, commemorative, and other functions for which many of the original works had been produced were no longer considered primary. Works with different original functions are grouped together as part of a new ensemble, a collection." (58)

Spanish taste in the mid-seventeenth century is shown by Velasquez's mission to Italy in 1649 on behalf of Philip IV "to find and to purchase the best paintings to be found by Titian, Paolo Veronese, Bassano, Raphael, Parmigianino and the like". (59)

Spain, however, along with Italy, was in seriously decline both economically and politically by the second half of the seventeenth century. As a result, the centre of gravity moved increasingly to Northern Europe. This had repercussions on the pattern of collecting. France, in particular, became the main ascendant nation, to a great extent through the influence of the powerful ministers Richelieu (1585-1642) and Mazarin (1602-61). Both also played a significant role in the area of art collecting. Richelieu was referred to in 1624 as a "great *curieux* of rare paintings who hunted for them everywhere" (60), and Pierre du Colombier accused Mazarin of being "the man who introduced into France the virus of collecting". (61) By the middle of the century the passion for collecting had spread widely, with keen competition between collectors for rare works. The *Livre commode des adresses de Paris* of 1691 named 134 "fameux *curieux* parisiens" (62), while Salerno states that in seventeenth century France there were "a thousand or more other collections, mostly in Paris", in addition to those formed by the men in political power. (63)

Pictures by Poussin, in particular, were highly sought after. According to von Holst, until 1665, the King, the great collectors and prominent Parisian officials, doctors and merchants, were all eager to acquire works by him. Poussin was, however, to become replaced by Rubens as favourite, and consequently prices for his works fell. (64) Pierre Crozat, a wealthy banker, supposedly possessed the hardly credible sum of two hundred works by Rubens, and a hundred apiece by Titian and Veronese. Claude was also highly regarded by Parisian collectors, as were Le Brun and Le Sueur. (65) Those who could not afford original paintings collected prints. The abbé de Villeloin, Michel Marolles, for example, amassed

123,000 prints by over 6,000 artists, and it has been estimated that by 1673 there were at least 85 large collections of prints in Paris, and more than 130 at the end of the century. (66)

Germany by the end of the seventeenth century had also become sufficiently prosperous for numerous collections to be formed across the country. (67) Collections in Dresden and Munich, for example, according to Joachim von Sandrart in 1679, showed "what art can achieve". (68)

England, too, seriously entered the field during the seventeenth century. Encouragement had been given by the likes of Richard Haydocke, who argued in 1598 for a "diligent observation of the excellency of Ancient workes; indeavouring by all meanes to purchase them, and refusing no coste, when they may bee had." Some of the nobility, and "divers private Gentlemen", he continued, had in this area already "very well acquitted themselves; as may appeare, by their Galleries carefully furnished, with the excellent monuments of sundry famous ancient Masters, both Italian and Germane". (69) Generally, according to Whinney and Millar, although pictures and works of art remained luxuries in seventeenth century England, their flow into the country "increased steadily, despite the protests of the Painter-Stainers, and the demand for pictures inevitably put business into the hands of the 'experts', the cleaner, the dealer, and the auctioneer". (70)

Art collecting involving any significant critical awareness in England finds its beginnings in the interests of Sir Henry Wotton, the "first of the English connoisseurs" (71); Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel, who, according to Gabriel Naudé in 1638, left "no stone unturned in his efforts to strip Italy of all her precious treasures" (72); George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; and Charles I. (73)

The earliest serious collectors, as well as Arundel and Buckingham, included also the Earl of Somerset and John Digby, 1st Earl of Bristol. Between 1610 and 1640 this group not only collected antique sculpture on a large scale but also imported into England large quantities of Italian art, and, to a lesser extent, German and French works. With the exception of Rubens, they were mainly interested in the old masters of the sixteenth century rather than the work of living artists. (74) In addition to the Italians, works by Holbein were one of Arundel's main interests, as they were also of Lucy, Countess of Bedford, who wrote in 1618, "I am a very

diligent gatherer of all I can gett of Holbein's or any other excellent master's hand; I do not care at what rate I have them for price." Arundel's collection just before the beginning of the Civil War contained almost eight hundred paintings, including over 40 Holbeins, 37 Titians, 16 Durers, 13 Breughals, and 68 works attributed to Raphael, Parmigiano, Giorgione and Corregio. Second only to this was the collection of the Duke of Buckingham, which he started in 1621. Between them, Arundel and Buckingham also influenced Charles I, who between 1628 and 1630 purchased at a cost of £18,000 the Duke of Mantua's entire collection, and continued thereafter to build up a gallery which ultimately overtook those of his mentors in size and magnificence. These were the most extravagant collectors, but there were also other enthusiasts, particularly for Italian art, in the court by the 1630s, including Philip, Earl of Pembroke and the 3rd Marquis of Hamilton, who in 1638 acquired works by Raphael, Titian, Corregio, Veronese and Tintoretto, amongst others. (75) By 1640, Stone states, "London could boast of four or five picture galleries which between them displayed a collection of Italian old masters, particularly of the Venetian school, which was unrivalled in Europe ..." The contents of most of these collections, however, were to become dispersed throughout the galleries of continental Europe during the Commonwealth. (76)

In the second half of the century the interests of English collectors were mainly with the works of Salvator Rosa, Albano, Guido Reni, Gaspar and Nicolas Poussin, Maratti and Claude. (77) It is also worth noting Pye's account (his anti-foreign bias should be kept in mind), that "Although the taste of Charles the First for collecting works of art did not distinguish his successors on the throne ... yet the practice of collecting ancient works continued, in some degree, to characterise the British aristocracy ..." It appeared, he continued, that in the late seventeenth century "many English families were collectors, and that the practice soon increased, until, towards the close of the century, it had become a kind of mania among them, the extravagant indulgence of which was in no degree excused by any patriotic or enlightened consideration of the claims of native talent." (78)

It was in the eighteenth century, however, that England came into her own in the field of collecting. According to Lippincott, the London art world in the 1720s was "dominated by foreign imports: artists from Germany,

Italy, and France; antiquities and old master paintings from Venice and Rome; prints from Paris and Amsterdam". (79) Abbé Le Blanc wrote in 1738 that the English had drawn from Italy and France all the rarest pictures that they could find (80), while in 1765 a French visitor to London noted regarding the inhabitants that "a taste for pictures makes an article of their luxury; they sacrifice to this taste in proportion to their fortune". (81) These developments were too much for Winckelmann, however, who protested in 1760 that in Rome "those barbarians, the English, buy up everything ..." (82)

By the middle of the century collecting had reached the same height of fashion in England which it had achieved a generation earlier in France. (83) In contrast to the previous century, when there had been only twenty or so important art collectors, it has been estimated that there was now well over two hundred significant collections. These also no longer belonged only to members of the aristocracy. (84) As in the previous century, most collectors "spent their money either on the dead Masters or on the living artists of foreign schools". (85) Works by Murillo were brought into the country from about 1730 onwards, and paintings by Poussin, Claude and Salvator Rosa continued to be highly appreciated. Seventeenth century Dutch paintings were also extremely popular after 1750 (in spite of Horace Walpole's dismissal of their producers as "those drudging mimics of Nature's most uncomely coarseness") (86), with there being a particular fashion for works by Cuyp. (87) Italian artists, however, remained the major taste, with one English critic in 1770 dictating that "only Raphael, Reni and Annibale Carracci have all the merits of a perfect master." (88)

However, it is important to note Steegman's comment that "It was well known among the dealers, and also among the private owners of the Continent that the Englishman was willing to pay big prices for whatever took his fancy, and also that his critical knowledge was generally less than his enthusiasm, so that many of the canvases triumphantly hung up in the great houses masqueraded ... under some august name to which their right was at least questionable." (89)

At the end of the century, according to Anna Jameson (writing in 1844), "Carraccis, Claudes, Poussins, arrived by shiploads". "One stands amazed", she continued, "at the number of pictures introduced by the enterprise of private dealers into England between 1795 and 1815, during

the hottest time of the war ...". (90)

Turning to the rest of Europe, in Vienna, for example, it has been estimated that in the early eighteenth century the palaces and villas contained as many as 6,000 paintings, with there being a particular interest in Italian and Netherlandish works. (91)

In Russia, Peter the Great encouraged art dealers and agents and urged his nobles "to patronize them and to surround themselves with works of art suitable to their rank". (Taylor, p.528) By the end of the century this plan had apparently been successful, with a German observer remarking in 1780 that "In no country are there such passionate collectors as here". (92)

In Prussia, Frederick the Great's interest was mainly for the Italians of the sixteenth century and the Flemish of the seventeenth: he wrote to his sister in 1755 that he had "brought together about 100 pictures of which there are two Corregios, two Guidos, two Paul Veroneses, a Tintoretto, a Solimena, twelve Rubenses, eleven Van Dycks, without counting the other masters of high reputation". (93)

By the middle of the century Titian and his followers had lost the first place they had held for so long, to be replaced especially by Raphael and Corregio. (94) Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* was bought in 1754 for the Dresden gallery of Augustus III for the highest price ever paid for a painting in Europe up to that time. (95) Classicist masters from the seventeenth century, such as Poussin, Claude and Dolci, were also favoured. (96) However, by the end of the century, in England at least, according to Buchanan, Titian and Rubens took the lead, with the fine works of the former bringing "any money". Also ranked were Leonardo, the Carracci, the historical compositions of Van Dyck, "Guido's fine pictures, Claude's very capital pictures", Domenichino, Murillo's "capital pictures", Albano's "very fine pictures" and Rembrandt. Buchanan hardly thought it safe to go beyond this list "unless for a highly celebrated and well known Correggio, Raffaele, or M Angelo ..." As for subject matter, "pictures of St Jerome, St Francis, and the like do not take. Young St Johns, Virgins and Child - Venus and Cupids, and pleasing *Compositions* on the other hand are the rage." (97)

There was also, however, a significant contrasting interest in the realism of the Netherlands. Morette wrote in 1796 that collectors, such as himself, who "prefer the work of the Italian masters are in an exposed

minority to those who prefer the art of the Low Countries, which is now in such high esteem that the pictures are snatched from hand to hand, while an Italian picture or drawing is looked at with indifference." (98) This interest had been established for some time. According to a Saxon agent in a letter to Dresden of 1741, "The ordinary taste of the rich Paris public inclines towards the Flemish and the Dutch; a Teniers will certainly find fifty purchasers, a Titian or a Correggio at the most six". (99) And in the sale of the collection of Louis-Jean Gaignat in Paris in 1769 works by Dutch and Flemish artists all fetched high prices, the highest price paid being 36 million old francs for a work by Tenier. (100)

This interest in the art of the Netherlands can perhaps be traced to some extent to changes in the composition of the collecting public at around this time. According to von Holst, "Since about 1740, the cultural life of the leading countries of Europe had more and more tended to conform to bourgeois standards, and at the same time there was a definite turning away from the princely Rococo culture. .. This led in Paris and London, in Dresden and St Petersburg, to collectors' tastes becoming increasingly similar to those of the merchants of Antwerp and Amsterdam. Not only were the Italian classics paraded against the last followers of Watteau, but also (though on a different level) the Flemish and above all the Dutch." (101)

More and more a shift in the type of collectors is found from the aristocracy to the middle classes. Indeed, in France at least during the course of the eighteenth century, the bourgeoisie "came to direct the course of taste in collecting, even to the point of imposing that taste on the court". (102) Similar widespread patterns of collecting also occurred in Germany. In Hamburg, according to Neickel in 1727, "A connoisseur will find complete satisfaction in viewing the excellent cabinets of some of the famous native merchants". (103) Both wealthy and modest collectors existed side by side there, as well as in other cities such as Frankfurt, which contained over seventy collections in the eighteenth century. Many ordinary Frankfurters collected paintings, mainly by Dutch artists. (104) By the mid-nineteenth century, Holst states, "Self-assertive, self-made men" such as Chauchard, the Parisian underwear manufacturer, and the steel kings of America and the coal barons of the Ruhr, "surrounded themselves with works of art of a princely character for which they had paid a great

deal of money". (105)

Also, by this time, collecting interests had expanded not only to wider groups of people, but to works of art from more and more cultures and periods. According to Haskell, "By the 1840s and 1850s, in England and in France, taste could be extraordinarily fluid and receptive. ... the favourites of the eighteenth-century connoisseurs, such as Guido Reni, Claude and Wouwermans, could hang next to, and be admired with, newer claimants to attention, such as Flemish and Italian masters of the fifteenth century, or French of the eighteenth. ... Taste was not, as it had once been ... based on a policy of systematic exclusion: on the contrary, it was more open than it ever had been, or would be again until more than a hundred years later." (106)

England remained one of the centres of collecting, with a continuing interest in foreign and old works. For all of the partisan attempts to encourage and bully collectors into purchasing modern British works, in the years from 1833 to 1838, according to a report in the *Art-Union* (its figures based on the customs' records), over 45,600 pictures, not including those from France, were imported into the country. (107)

Art collecting in the United States also rose to prominence during the nineteenth century. In the earlier days of that country's existence there had been little room for this interest (108), but this had changed by the early 1800s, when associations for the encouragement of the arts and individual collections began to be formed. At this time, according to Constable, "taste was either for the acquisition of American paintings, especially portraits, or for old masters of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, principally Italian and French. ... save for Rubens and Vandyck, Flemish and Dutch paintings were not highly regarded. ... For a time, therefore, American collectors seem to have followed the same path as their English contemporaries, with perhaps greater interest in France." (109) Collecting on a large scale, however, only developed in the second half of the century, as a result of the vast wealth which began to be accumulated after the Civil War. It was now found worthwhile to import paintings, particularly genre works and landscapes, by contemporary European artists. From about 1860 there was a particular enthusiasm for new French art. (110)

By the end of the nineteenth century the United States had come to the

fore. Wilhelm Bode wrote in 1905 that "In collecting, as in other matters, the Americans are developing the energy and toughness which is peculiar to themselves". Numerous major collections began to be formed. For example, J Pierpoint Morgan had amassed a collection by the end of his life which was worth \$60 million, and in 1900 William R Hearst annually began to spend \$4 million on works of art. (111)

It is unnecessary here to detail the further and extravagant expansion of collecting throughout the twentieth century. It should be noted, however, that in this period in particular the private collector has had to compete more and more with the acquisitive activities of public museums and galleries, which have made a major impact on reducing the number of works of art for sale through permanently withdrawing them from the market. (112) This limiting of the supply of art in circulation must have had repercussions for the development and increase of forgery.

This chapter should have shown the substantial expansion of art collecting from its small beginnings in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It should also be clear that at particular times and in each country the works of specific artists and periods were especially fashionable and in high demand. In such circumstances, as the collecting interest became more and more widespread and as a cheap and ready supply of original works necessarily decreased, then forgery was a most likely consequence. It is therefore no coincidence that the details of the history of forgery are closely related to the particular interests and demands shown in the history of art collecting.

---0---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Alsop is correct in seeing art forgery as being dependant on the existence of competitive art collectors, although he goes too far in arguing that where there is a booming art market serving these then

- there will automatically be faking. (J Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1982, p.16)
2. H Tietze, *Genuine and False*, Parrish, London, 1948, p. 16.
 3. Quoted in J Rosenberg, S Slive and E H ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture: 1600 to 1800*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1977, pp.18-19.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
 5. J M Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1982, p. 220.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
 7. Price, in part-explanation, states that "the majority of Dutch painters found their purchasers among the less wealthy and less educated sections of Dutch society - chiefly merchants of modest wealth, small traders, shopkeepers and artisans in the towns of Holland. These painters were thus not influenced by the tastes and attitudes towards art common among the wealthier merchants and more aristocratic regents, but were able to develop their traditional styles and approaches in the directions encouraged by the tastes of those at whom their pictures were aimed. Such a situation clearly affected profoundly both the position of the painter within society and the way in which Dutch painting developed." (J L Price, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic During the Seventeenth Century*, Batford, London, 1974, p.134)
 8. Alpers notes that "From the point of view of its consumption, art as we think of it in our time in many respects began with Dutch art [of the seventeenth century]. Its societal role was not far from that of art today: a liquid investment like silver, tapestries, or other valuables, pictures were bought from artists' shops or on the open market as possessions and hung, one presumes, to fill space and to decorate domestic walls. We have few records of commissions and little evidence of buyers' demands." (S Alpers, *The Art of Describing - Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1983, p. xxii)
 9. Montias, *op. cit.*, p.218 and 227.
- Simialrly, in Antwerp, in the Southern Netherlands, Filipczak notes that inventories of the first half of the seventeenth century show that "most people who owned paintings, even in large numbers, gave scant attention to authorship. Instead, they consistently identified paintings by their subjects, and sculptures (which were infrequently cited) by subject and material." There were, however, some important exceptions to this attitude. (F F Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987, p. 65)
10. J M Montias, "Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art", *Art History*, vol.10, no.4, December 1987, p.463.

11. Hauser argues that "The patron or client, as a representative of those concerned with art, corresponds to a stage of development in which artistic production is for the most part on the level of craft." In such circumstances, the artist is bound by the direction of his commission and his "own urge to create, the subjective will to expression, and the spontaneity of creative talent all play a subordinate role". Under the conditions of patronage, "Works of art are produced as they are needed, since every artistic product has its precisely determined purpose and bears an immediate relationship to practice". (A Hauser, *The Sociology of Art*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1982, p.280)

Similarly, Wackernagel states that patrons/clients "bestow their commissions with respect to a particular function and destination, for a given task determined by a prospective location and objective. This means that they order a painting, a piece of sculpture, or a decorative object that appears desirable and necessary for a particular place in a church space or in their own house and represents an object appropriate to the situation in which it is displayed." (M Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist* (1938), Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1981, pp.248-49)

12. J Steegman, *Rule of Taste - From George I to George IV*, Macmillan, London, 1936, p.96.
13. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p.249.
14. Hauser argues that "the emergence of the connoisseur and the collector signifies one of the most decisive changes in the history of art, a change which brings in its train not only a reform of the art market but a shift in the goals of the artist and of his role in the life of society." (A Hauser, *The Sociology of Art*, *op. cit.*, p.280)
15. N von Holst, *Creators, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1967, p.21.
16. L Salerno, "Museums and Collections", in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, Magraw-Hill, 1965, col.378.
17. Alsop, *op. cit.*, p.190.
18. *Ibid.*, p.191.
19. F H Taylor, *The Taste of Angels - A History of Art Collecting From Rameses to Napoleon*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1948, p.15.
20. Alsop, *op. cit.*, p.203.
21. *Ibid.*, pp.203-4.
22. D Rigby and E Rigby, *Lock, Stock and Barrel - The Story of Collecting*, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1944, p.131.
23. Salerno, *op. cit.*, cols.379-80.

24. Alsop, *op. cit.*, p.201.
25. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p.48.
26. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p.248.
27. *Ibid.* p.8.

Wackernagel notes that "The collector's demand for valuable art works of the recent and distant past, with the quest for and buying up of works with highly prized masters' names - works which in their own time had originated through other commissions and had already been displayed and admired elsewhere - was a phenomenon that appeared only occasionally and sporadically in the late Quattrocento. It occurs more frequently since the beginning of the sixteenth century..." (p.285)

Francastel, importantly, also states that "the very notion of a private collection has a revolutionary meaning when it concerns the early sixteenth-century mind." This is only conceivable, she argues, "in a society where the artist is considered the producer of precious objects. It differs fundamentally from the traditional notion of decoration. ... In the case of a collection ... only the picture counts: it is bought for its own sake ... instead of being a part of a larger whole ... it becomes an autonomous object, which can circulate from hand to hand; from a simply expensive object, it becomes a precious one." (G Francastel, "Giorgione, Titian, and the Commercialization of the Work of Art" (1960); extract in P Burke, *The Renaissance*, Longman, London, 1964, p.41)

28. O Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice 1470-1790*, Batsford, London, p.153.
29. *Ibid.*, pp.153-54.
30. F Haskell and N Penny, *Taste and the Antique - The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500 - 1900*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981, p.10.
31. G Bazin, *The Museum Age*, Desoer, Brussels, 1967(?), p.52.
32. Salerno, *op. cit.*, col.381.
33. Logan, *op. cit.*, p.154.
34. Francastel, *op. cit.*, p.41.
35. Logan, *op. cit.*, pp.149 and 152.
36. P Burke, *Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy*, Fontana, London and Glasgow, 1974, p.134.

37. F Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, London, 1963, p.170.
 38. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, p.90.
 39. J Held, "The Early Appreciation of Drawings", in *Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art - Volume III: Latin American Art, and the Baroque Period in Europe*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1963, pp.78-79.
 40. Logan, *op. cit.*, pp.152 and 281.
 41. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, *op. cit.*, p.94.
 42. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, p.83.
 43. *Ibid.*, p.86; and Taylor, *op. cit.*, p.191.
 44. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp.192-93.
 45. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, pp.88-89.
 46. H Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists - Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts 1517-1633*, Harper & Row, New York, 1976, p.74.
 47. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, pp.88-89.
 48. *Ibid.*, pp.96 and 98.
 49. *Ibid.*, pp.109-10.
 50. H Menz, *The Dresden Gallery*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1962, p.9.
 51. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, pp.111-12.
 52. *Ibid.*, p.115.
- When Cristina became queen in 1632 there was only one picture in the palace at Stockholm. (Taylor, *op. cit.*, p.304)
53. Z Z Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987, p.50.
 54. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, p.131.
 55. For example, copies were identified in the inventory of 1614 of the collection of Philips van Valckenisse; the majority of the works in the inventory of Nicholaas Cheeus, 1621, were either attributed or distinguished as copies; and most of the pictures in the inventory of the estate of James Snell of 1623 were attributed, with some works specifically noted as being originals. Almost all the paintings in Rubens's collection were attributed. (Filipczak, *op. cit.*, pp.65-66)

56. Filipczak, *op. cit.*, p.160.
57. *Ibid.*, p.161.
58. *Ibid.*, pp.47-48.
59. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p.287.
60. G Bazin, *The Louvre*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1979, p.28.
61. Bazin, *The Museum Age*, *op. cit.*, p.92.
62. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, p.158.
63. Salerno, *op. cit.*, p.387.
64. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, p.159.
65. D Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-Century France*, Batsford, London, 1970, p.161.
66. *Ibid.*, p.162.
67. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 and 157.
68. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p.134.
69. Quoted in W E Houghton Jr., "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3, 1942, p.66.
70. M Whinney and O Millar, *English Art 1625-1714*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1957, p.10-11.
71. J Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste*, Macmillan, London, 1963, p.102.
72. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, *op. cit.*, p.177.
73. The owning of pictures did, however, precede these collectors. In the Elizabethan period collections of portraits and religious paintings were not uncommon. Collections even contained secular and genre pictures. For example, the inventory of 1590 of Lord Lumley's pictures included 'A Dutch woman selling of fruit' and 'a huge table of the manner of banqueting in Flanders'. However, according to Buxton, "The Lumley collection, the largest in England apart from the Royal collection, was made for the interest of the subjects of the pictures, whether portraits or history-paintings (including those on religious themes), not because those who formed it had much critical discrimination in the art of painting. Its basis was thus very different from that of the collection of Lord Lumley's great-nephew, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel ... The prescence therefore in such a collection of works by artists of the distinction of Holbein, Dürer, and Anton Mor was, if not fortuitous, at least due rather to Lord Lumley's, or [his father-in-law] Lord Arundel's, wish to have portraits of certain persons, than to wish to possess paintings by

these artists. Those who owned so many portraits would learn to prefer a portrait of a friend or of a famous man done by a good painter to one done by a journeyman: but they remained interested in recognizable representation, not in great painting. There is little evidence yet of any attempt to collect the work of certain painters in preference to others ..." (Buxton, *op. cit.*, pp.97-99)

74. The Earl of Somerset was the first major collector of these. In 1614 he negotiated to purchase a group of Venetian paintings, including works by Veronese, Giacomo Bassano, and Tintoretto, and a 'molto raro' Venus by Titian. However, he fell from grace before he could finalise the deal, and Arundel took over the purchase.
75. L Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965, pp.718-20.
76. *Ibid.*, p.721.
77. Whinney and Millar, *op. cit.*, p.9.
78. J Pye, *Patronage of British Art*, London, 1845, p.26.
79. L Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London - The Rise of Arthur Pond*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1983, p.1.
80. Pye, *op. cit.*, p.18.
81. Steegman, *op. cit.*, pp.96-97.
82. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, p.204.
83. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p.450.
84. Typical of the new type of middling collector was the medical practitioner Richard Mead: among his possessions there were forty five portraits, including works attributed to Kneller, Holbein, Hals, Rembrandt and Rubens; twenty three land- and sea-scapes by Breughel, Claude, Gaspard Poussin, Salvator Rosa, Rembrandt and Van de Velde; fourteen Dutch still lifes; thirteen works by Canaletto, Panini and Poussin; and fifty-five historical and religious paintings mainly by Italian, French and Netherlandish masters of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (B Denvir, *The Eighteenth Century: Art, Design and Society, 1689-1789*, Longman, London, 1983, p.7.
85. Steegman, *op. cit.*, p.99.
86. F Herrmann, *The English as Collectors*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1972, p.13.
87. F Haskell, "The British as Collectors", in G Jackson-Stops (ed), *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, National Gallery of Art, Washington and Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1985, p.53.
88. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, p.193.

89. Steegman, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

Haskell's more recent, detailed observations support this view. He argues that for all "the legendary wealth and extravagance of their purchasers" it has to be noted how comparatively limited British collections towards the end of the eighteenth century actually were. Those Italian artists, he argues, who were most highly esteemed during the eighteenth century - Raphael, Titian, Corregio, Annibale Carracci, Domenichino, and Guido Reni - were in fact poorly represented. "It is true", he states, "that there was hardly a significant collection which did not claim to own one or more pictures by some or all of these masters", nonetheless "few important and authentic pictures by the masters of the Italian Renaissance and Bolognese school hung on British walls ... between the dispersal in the 1640s and 1650s of the collections that had been built up by the courtiers of Charles I and the influx of masterpieces following the disturbances caused by the French Revolution. ... The only significant Raphael was the early *Ansdei Madonna* which was bought in Italy in 1764. ... major works by those considered to be the major artists were only very rarely available even to the most spendthrift "milordis". (Haskell, "The British as Collectors", *op. cit.*, p. 52)

90. Quoted in Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 14

The quality of these were somewhat better than that of their predecessors. Haskell observes that "The revolutions and wars which devastated Europe (but not Great Britain) at the end of the eighteenth century made a huge difference to the quality and quantity of work of art to be found in British houses, but not to their character." While "it would be ludicrously exaggerated", he continues, "to claim that the attributions in country house catalogues to Raphael, Titian, Corregio, and other great painters which had hitherto been as fanciful as they were abundant could henceforth be relied on, it is nonetheless true that supreme masterpieces by these and others of equal standing could now be seen in England for the first time since the death of Charles I." (Haskell, "The British as Collectors", *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54)

91. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

93. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

94. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

95. *Ibid.*, (caption) p. 176; and Menz, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

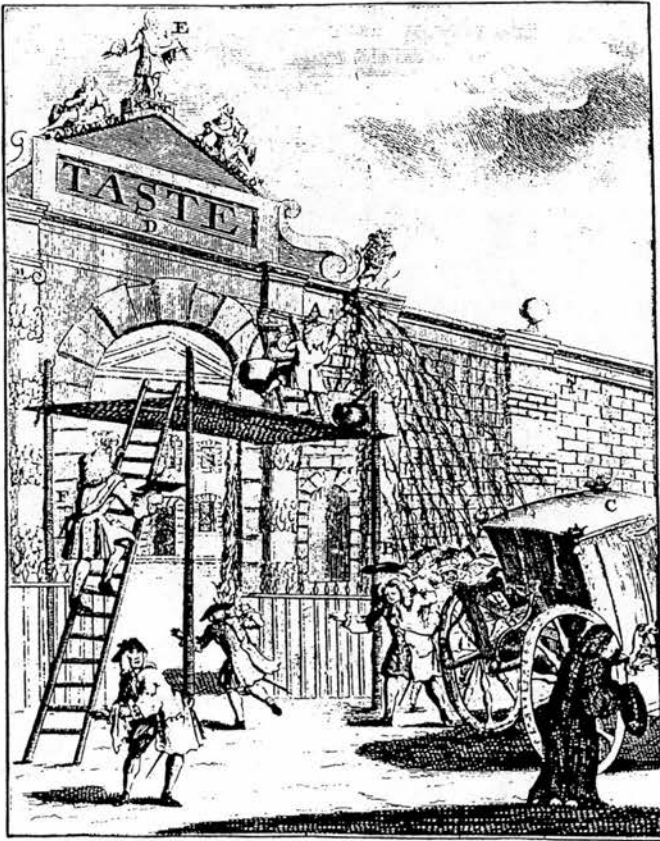
96. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, (caption) p. 179.

97. H Brigstocke, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, published privately by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1982, p. 6.

98. M Rheims, *Art on the Market*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1961, p. 151.
99. Quoted in von Holst, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
100. Rheims, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
101. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
102. Salerno, *op. cit.*, p. 387.
103. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
104. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, pp. 200 and 202.
105. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-56.
106. F Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art - Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, Phaidon, London, 1976, p. 130.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
108. John Adams, the second president, stated "It is not indeed the fine arts which our country requires: the useful, the mechanic arts are those which we have occasion for in this young country". (W G Constable, *Art Collecting in the United States of America*, Nelson, London, 1964, p. 11)
109. Constable, *ibid.*, p. 11.
110. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, p. 257; and Constable, *ibid.* pp. 1 and 8.
111. Von Holst, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
112. Public museums and galleries were of course not unique to the twentieth century: the magnificent Medici collection had passed to the Tuscan state in 1737; the British Museum was founded in 1753; the Belvedere in Vienna became a public museum in 1781; the Louvre was nationalised as "Museum of the Republic" in 1793; and a National Gallery was established in Britain in 1824. The main spread and consolidation of municipal galleries, however, especially in America, has been in the twentieth century (the National Gallery in Washington was founded in 1937).

PART III

THE STRUCTURAL BASIS OF ART FORGERY



CHAPTER 17

ART, THE ARTIST AND CAPITALISM

Introduction

In the last section the immediate needs for the occurrence of art forgery were expounded and the historical emergence of these was outlined. The aim there was to support the contention that art forgery is necessarily a specific practice which operates within a larger, generally determining, cultural framework. The explanation given there cannot, however, be taken as complete. Even if it is accepted that the necessary conditions for the development of art forgery - awareness of historical and/or individual differences; perception of art works as unique and individual objects; and a desire for the possession of these objects - are as argued, it remains a proper interest to ask for these historically specific attitudes to be themselves explained and grounded within their wider social structure. It is this which will be attempted in this section. (While it has been shown that forgery occurred in the Classical world as well as in Europe since the Renaissance, this former area will not be considered further here, although the explanations given below could be adapted to its experiences and circumstances.)

It should be clear from the previous chapters that the occurrence of art forgery and the immediate conditions necessary for its production had a very specific historical and geographic basis, with these emerging, with the exception of the Roman interlude, in parts of mediterranean, central and western Europe from the fifteenth century onwards. This period and the countries involved are those concerned with the emergence of capitalism. A relationship between this major social and economic change and the development of the conditions which have been identified as associated with

the emergence of art forgery can be established. The following pages are devoted to uncovering this association.

It will not be possible here, however, to develop a very detailed historical analysis; concentration will rather be on an "epochal" and necessarily general and sometimes speculative outline of the conditions underlying the developments discussed in the previous chapters. No attempt is made to achieve or even to argue for an exact "fit" of the specific histories of the production and reception of art into the total economic and social context, although it is accepted that some connections, direct or indirect, between these exists. Whilst a more concrete and detailed linking may be possible, this cannot adequately be undertaken at this stage.

One of the major problems in this area of cultural studies is that the debate on the relationship between art and the economic structure and society has tended to be argued at a high level of abstraction, lacking detailed historical specificity, with few studies even attempting a synthesis of the different levels of knowledge (at least in the field of art history). Further, what work that has been carried out has tended to concentrate on the general influence of capitalism on the ideologies of particular art works as shown through their form or content. This is not, however, of particular concern for this thesis, where the major interests lie in explaining the relationship between the social totality of capitalism and the more immediate social relationships of the artist and his work and the consumer of it, to the extent that this can explain the meaning of forgery. What follows therefore is necessarily only a first attempt at connecting the cultural, social and structural strands which have some bearing on the problems of this thesis.

The Conditions of Capitalism

In the historical materialist perspective of Marx, as outlined in his *Theories of Surplus Value*, it is stated:

To study the connection between intellectual and material production it is necessary, above all, to deal with the latter not as a general category but in a definite historical form. Thus, for example, the kind of intellectual production which corresponds to capitalist methods of production is different from that corresponding to medieval methods of production. If material production itself is not grasped in its specific historical form, it is impossible to understand the concrete nature of the intellectual production corresponding to it and the interaction of both factors. (1)

With this in mind, before considering the nature of capitalism and its social effects, it is useful for comparative purposes briefly to look at the main features of its economic precursor, feudalism, which emerged in Western Europe from about the tenth century, so that the qualitative differences and novelties of the new world-view of capitalism may be more clearly appreciated. Our particular concern is with the specific character of social relations, especially the relations between society and the individual, and individuals and objects, in each social formation.

As a society, the feudal Middle Ages can be typified as primarily land-centred, involving mutual obligations and dependence, with un-free serfdom as the predominant relation of production. It was, according to Dobb, "characterized by the compulsory performance of surplus labour by producers: producers who were in possession of their own primitive instruments of cultivation and were attached to the land." (2) Markets were usually local, and what limited long-distance trade there was did not have a determining role in the system of production. The feudal mode of production was essentially part of a natural economy in which production was for use, rather than exchange; thus, neither labour or its products were commodities. (3)

Medieval society was essentially static and rigid, permeated by custom and tradition. In terms of its "social organism" relating to its mode of production, the ultimate standard of human activities and institutions was expressed in terms of religion. Backed by the weight of the Church and its

ethical postulates, there operated a functionalist social hierarchy, which was both repressive and protective. Society, or more correctly in this context the community, was seen as an organism, part of the "Great Chain of Being". According to the fifteenth century jurist Sir John Fortescue:

In this order hot things are in harmony with cold, dry with moist, heavy with light, great with little, high with low. In this order angel is set over angel, rank upon rank in the kingdom of heaven; man is set over man, beast over beast, bird over bird, and fish over fish, on the earth in the air and in the sea: so that there is no worm that crawls upon the ground, no bird that flies on high, no fish that swims in the depths, which the chain of this order does not bind in most harmonious concord. Hell alone, inhabited by none but sinners, asserts its claim to escape the embraces of this order. (4)

Society was made up of different members who were rooted into a social whole through having definite rights and duties and mutual, though varying, obligations which depended on their membership of a particular estate. In such society, Tawney states, each member had his own function - "prayer, or defence, or merchandise, or tilling the soil" - and each had to receive the means appropriate to his station and could not claim more. Within each class there had to be equality, and between them inequality, for otherwise a class could not perform its function or enjoy its rights. "Peasants must not encroach on those above them. Lords must not despoil peasants. Craftsmen and merchants must receive what will maintain them in their calling, and no more." (5)

A man was primarily identical with his social role, whether this was as a peasant, artisan or knight; he was not just an individual who happened to be in a particular occupation. As Burckhardt eloquently expressed it:

In the Middle Ages both sides of human consciousness - that which was turned within as that which was turned without - lay dreaming or half awake beneath a common veil. The veil was woven of faith, illusion, and childish prepossession, through which the world and history were seen clad in strange hues. Man was conscious of himself only as a member of a race, people, party, family, or corporation - only through some general category. (6)

Within such a basically inflexible structure, thought to be ordained by God, there could be little mobility or competition. We have already seen the effects of this society on the artistic life of its community.

The artist was essentially a member of a defined strata of craft workers, operating within a guild framework, who produced visual images for specific use and for particular orders. He was not greatly differentiated from other artisans, and his work was not identified as being essentially unique to him nor valued as a product independent of the interests of the social unit.

Even in the later medieval period, which saw the growth of towns and the expansion of mercantilism, the fundamental nature of society was slow to change, though certainly in the transitional period from about the fourteenth century onwards the early traits of a new economic and social order can be seen to be emerging and gaining in influence. Even at this later time, however, within the commercial sector with its "petty mode of production" the power of the guilds can be seen as more in keeping with the old order than striving towards a new one. Restrictions on entry to the particular crafts or professions continued to be enforced, and the activities of their members remained controlled, particularly in relation to the regulation of trade, enforcement of monopolies and limiting of competition. Within such traditional conditions and relations new artistic practices and attitudes could not readily emerge.

Nonetheless, there developed out of the tensions and contradictions of late feudalism a substantial money economy and a new system of commodity production, which were centred on the "vanguard force" of corporate urban communities. (7) By the early fifteenth century "deep processes of socio-economic dissolution and mutation" had occurred in Western Europe and beyond, partly caused by a series of natural disasters. (8) This was followed by a transformation founded on a rapid expansion in population, capital, technology, production and trade. (9) According to Bautier, the second half of the fifteenth century realised "an economic recovery which gradually gave new life to the areas which previously had been devastated, while expansion continued in the areas which were in the course of development". This forced "an unprecedented economic boom", which fully utilised technological developments and the new geographical discoveries. "The situation", Bautier states, "was set fair for the development of modern civilisation." (10) By the sixteenth century the foundations of the European economy had been transformed. The expansion which had begun in the middle of the previous century "continued to grow with increasing

vigour in every field". (11) This new, capitalist, economic base engendered its own social and intellectual superstructure.

Capitalism as an economic system revolves around the production and consumption of commodities; social relations, including those of labour, are established not directly but through the exchange of things. An essential feature of this expanding economic system, with its direction towards the creation of surplus value in production, was a new, more flexible form of exploitation in which the worker was divorced from his means of production and was no longer an independent producer capable of providing his own subsistence. His relationship to the owner of the means of production was purely contractual; the worker was free in the face of the law to choose and change his master. (12) In such circumstances, "not merely are the products of labour turned into commodities, but labour power itself becomes a commodity". This could not have happened under feudalism, where the immediate producers were in combination with the means of production. (13)

Rader has summed up the essential nature of capitalism:

The distinguishing features of capitalism are commodity production, surplus value, and free labour. Commodity production - production not for immediate use but for profitable exchange on the market - is not unique to capitalism, but it is far more prevalent in capitalist society than in any previous social order. Also the extraction of surplus value from the worker is not unique to capitalism. The form of this extraction, however, distinguishes capitalism from other economic systems: the worker is paid in wages less than the value of what he or she produces. Free labor, as the predominant form of employment, is a feature unique to capitalism. The worker sells his labour power on the market, and differs in this respect from the serf, the slave, the Asiatic toiler, and the member of a primitive commune. (14)

The features of the capitalism which are particularly relevant for this study are those of individualism, which follows from the freeing of labour, and commodification.

The individualisation of man in society

According to Raymond Williams, "The emergence of notions of individuality ... can be related to the break-up of the medieval social, economic and religious order. In the general movement against feudalism there was a new stress on a man's personal existence over and above his place or function in a rigid hierarchical society". (15) There is a direct relationship in this change with the rise of capitalism, since a necessary condition for the construction and development of capitalist production, following from its functional requirement for free, alienable labour and property, is some concept of individual identity and separateness. Individuals had to be 'liberated' from feudal ties if a proletariat and modern industry were to be created. The dynamic development of the relations of production of capitalism, Mészáros states, "necessarily carries with it the abolition of feudal privileges and the adoption of the contractual prerequisites of "civil society"", involving "universal extension of "liberty" to every single individual so that he could enter into "free contractual relations" with other individuals, for the purpose of selling and alienating everything that belongs to him, including his own labour power". (16) He continues:

It is by no means accidental that individual liberty as a political and moral ideal is absent from the ancient world, and appears only with the High Renaissance. When direct "dependence on nature" is a general concern of a particular community, aspirations to a distinct form of individual liberty can only be expressed marginally. ... direct "dependence on nature" is overcome by the development of the capitalist productive forces, implying the realization of individual liberty in its formal universality. The victorious advance of the capitalistic productive forces produces a way of life with an increasingly stronger accent on *privacy*. (17)

This shift had definite implications for the craft guilds, since the undermining of their monopolies was "one condition of the growth of capitalist production, whether in the manufacturing or domestic form". (18) The relevance of this for our argument should be clear, as should be the importance of the general development under capitalism of autonomous independent beings with a new awareness of 'self', separated from others and not in mutual obligation with them. Even although artistic practice

remained marginal to these great economic changes, nonetheless, it could not help but be affected by the new conditions. Individualism could not merely take a hold in only some areas and not others. There were therefore repercussions of a fundamental kind on all areas of life, with growing individualism becoming apparent in all social classes and affecting all ideological structures, including philosophy, theology, taste and art, in some way. As Von Martin states, "the fundamental transformation of all conditions, the widespread emancipation of all that was traditional and the general broadening of personal ambitions were bound to bring about 'an energetic development of an artistic endeavour and the emergence of new problems in art'". (19)

This new trend expressing the apparent importance of the individual should not, however, be mistakenly understood as involving any presumption of equality, at least not beyond the strictly limited notion of equality under law. Indeed, in many ways the relative equality which had previously existed within (rather than between) estates was undermined in the new order. New divisions became apparent. This should not be surprising, since the notion of individuality contains within itself a presumption of separateness and of difference. Further, capitalism requires the existence and acceptance of inequality for its functioning, with a minority holding positions of superiority, and with an extreme gulf existing between the worker and the owner of the means of production. The relevance of this in the artistic sphere is that once the power of the guild system, with its levelling attitude, had been broken, then the ground was prepared for the development of significant differentiation between artists and between their works.

This inequality was further actively encouraged by the increasing general split, heightened as the division of labour became more generally applied, between manual and intellectual activities. Although this rift is not unique to the capitalist period, the necessary conditions of this form of production are inherently conducive to such a development. In practice, this was largely mediated initially by the culture and arguments of the humanists. As a result, differentiation between, and also within, categories of 'low' and 'high' art and between their producers became increasingly evident, with the notions of genius and greatness becoming applied to a minority of the 'higher' artists. Von Martin argues that it

was only in a bourgeois world that "it became possible to talk of "genius" as the highest expression of a new consciousness, of its power and freedom ... based upon the personal forces and ability of the individual". (20) Tied to these developments is the concept of originality. According to Adorno, "originality presupposes an emancipated subject"; it is "a product of historical change", which is "implicated in the injustice of history, specifically in the hegemony consumer goods have in a bourgeois market society". (21) Competition between artists, with individuals striving against each other, can also be seen as having its roots firmly in the culture of capitalism, with its need for competitive production.

It should be apparent from this brief discussion that the significant changes in the nature of the artist which began to emerge in the Renaissance and developed more fully in the following centuries were concretely based in the general economic changes of the time, though mediated through intellectual and social forms.

But whilst these changes permitted the liberation of workers, including artists, from previous constraints, the negative side of these developments also has to be recognised. According to Mészáros, "As the capitalistic liberation of man from his direct dependence on nature progresses, so human enslavement by the new "natural law" manifest in the alienation and reification of the social relations of production intensifies." (22) The social nature of man becomes violated by the individualism of modern civil society. Social relations become only means to the private ends of individual existence, and society is juxtaposed to the individual as an external and formal thing. (23)

In capitalist society the relative liberation of man appears in alienated form because of the reification of the social relations of production. Freedom in such conditions is not marked, Mészáros states, as "a relative independence from *natural* necessity", but as "freedom from the constraints of *social* ties and relations, as an ever intensifying cult of "*individual autonomy*". Through this alienation and reification a deceptive appearance of individual independence is produced, abstracted from its relationship with society. This fictitious "individual autonomy" becomes represented as the positive point of morality, with social relations counting only "as "interference", as mere negativity". (24) The world of man is therefore devalued under capitalism, leaving only "the

dehumanized illusion of a fulfilment through "withdrawal", through "contemplative" idleness, through the cult of "privacy", "irrationality", and "mysticism" - in short through the idealization of "individual autonomy" as openly or implicitly opposed to "universal liberty". (25)

Whilst the artist is less directly or immediately affected in his particular working relations by the general alienation of workers under capitalism, since his labour is "still immersed in its particular specificity: not in the totality and abstraction of labour *as such*" (26), nonetheless he is as affected in his social relations as much as others, and this has repercussions in his work. The artist from the Renaissance onwards has been more and more free to choose the subject-matter and control the immediate nature of his work, but as this happens then the potential for social marginalisation, for the ultimate irrelevance of his work, has increased proportionally. (27) Also, as a 'free' individual, loosened from his particular social ties, he is negatively affected, as is his work, by the implications of the new conditions of the market under which he generally has to operate to survive. As Mészáros argues, "With the advance of alienation the artist's isolation increases". He was set free, "but only at the price of submitting himself to the impersonal power of the art market. ... the "universal galvano-chemical power of society" (money) rules over his work", resulting in it losing its direct sense and, subjected to the general laws of commerce, it becomes "a mere means to an alien end". (28)

The commodification of art

Along with the need for an acceptance of the individualness of different artists, the other main factor identified as necessary for the occurrence of forgery is the autonomous existence, independent of immediate function, of the art object; its becoming mobile and 'liberated' from its environment is a requirement before collecting can develop. We have also seen how the creation of distance between producer and consumer was involved in facilitating forgery. These latter conditions are supplied by the relentless drive within capitalism towards turning all things into commodities.

According to Lukács, "the problem of commodities" is "the central, structural problem of capitalist society in all its aspects". (29) The nature of commodities is conveniently summed up by Vázquez:

The commodity is a product of human labour which satisfies a certain human need. In this sense, it has a utility, a use value. The use values of certain commodities are qualitatively different from those of others inasmuch as they satisfy different human needs. But in a society based on the exchange of commodities - in a society in which human beings produce to satisfy neither their personal needs nor those of the community, but those of the market - the concrete qualities of those commodities vanish, and with them their use values. There is thus a levelling process whereby all products of labour become objects of exchange. A commodity has an exchange value, which is the rate of exchange of one class of use values for another. The exchange value of each commodity therefore represents a certain unit of value which is common to all commodities. "As use values, commodities are, above all, of different qualities, but as exchange-values they are merely different quantities, and consequently do not contain an atom of use-value." [Marx] (30)

Commodities, Vázquez argues, are human objects in dehumanized form, which are no longer appreciated for their use value, for their involvement with specific human needs. When objects become commodities, they "lose their human meaning, their quality, their relationship to man". (31)

This commodification comes about because under the alienating conditions of capitalism property becomes divorced from any considerations of the needs of the community and is freed from social interests. (32) Just as man's human and social relations are changed and reified as a necessary element of the development of his labour-power as a commodity in

capitalist relations of production, with his qualities and abilities no longer "an organic part of his personality", but instead being "things which he can 'own' or 'dispose of' like the various objects of the external world" (33), so there is a universal extension or transformation under the general conditions of alienation of all products of labour into commodities so as to enable them to enter into the system of the market. Under the needs of capitalism exchange-value generally and necessarily dominates society and supplants use-value. Cohen sees this fetishism as "part of the price paid for the development of production sponsored by capitalism". With fetishism, he argues, "the form not only dominates the content but obscures it". (34)

Under the conditions of capitalism, Lukács similarly argues, "The unity of a product as a *commodity* no longer coincides with its unity as a use-value" (35); "even the individual object which man confronts directly, either as producer or consumer, is distorted in its objectivity by its commodity character". (36) The immediate qualitative and material character of things becomes concealed. "When use-values appear universally as commodities", he states, "they acquire a new objectivity, a new substantiality which they did not possess in an age of episodic exchange and which destroys their original and authentic substantiality. As Marx observes: "Private property *alienates* not only the individuality of men, but also of things.'" (37)

In a society which is founded on the universal exchange of products of human labour, in which all goods are presented as commodities, works of art cannot escape the fate of commoditification. We have already seen parts of the historical emergence of this. By the sixteenth century art works had become more private in both intention and consumption. There was a definite move away from them having a public or social involvement towards a more rarified, autonomous existence as part of an independent, privileged cultural sphere. This relative autonomy was a consequence of the processes of alienation. Through this qualitative change in their nature, abstracted from a definite purpose in the world, they were able readily to become objects of consumption. Francastel notes that "from the moment that it was believed that a picture could have a value of its own, its commercialization became not only possible but inevitable". (38) Horkheimer and Adorno elaborate on this relationship. Art as a separate sphere, they argue, is

only possible in a bourgeois society, since "its freedom remains essentially bound up with the premise of a commodity economy". Although "pure works of art ... deny the commodity society by the very fact that they obey their own law", they nonetheless always remain as wares. The "principle of idealistic aesthetics - purposefulness without a purpose", Horkheimer and Adorno state, "reverses the scheme of things to which bourgeois art conforms socially: purposelessness for the purposes declared by the market". (39)

Paradoxically, in reality art works became more and more alienated from significant and specific meaning the more their new aesthetic justification and independent purpose was established in theory. For all their new 'uniqueness', they readily became quantifiable as but members of species, as abstract and interchangeable 'Raphaels' or 'Titians' or 'Rembrandts', sold and bought as such, and not so qualitatively different from other merchandise. (40) They had become items in "a society where production is aimed above all at the market", where "products can only be compared by ignoring their useful properties and their human significance", and in which, "in order to compare the products of labour and make them appear equal, it is necessary to erase their utility, their use values, their capacities to supply specific human needs, and establish among them a quantitative relationship of exchange value." (41) In capitalist society, Vázquez argues:

the work of art is quantified, an exchange value is attributed to it, when it enters the world of commodification and becomes subject to the laws of capitalist production. Insofar as works of art acquire the ontological status of commodities, their concrete qualities, their use values, disappear, and they become greater or lesser quantities of a common unit of measurement. Converted into a commodity, the work of art loses its human significance. (42)

Alpers sees Rembrandt as the personification of the new individualistic, entrepreneurial artist, *pictor economicus*, who fed into this system. He had, she argues, "a propensity to truck, barter and exchange", in Adam Smith's famous phrase, and to make works suitable to such transactions". He was a free individual in his studio, and had cut himself away from the control of patrons; but "he was beholden instead to the market - or more specifically to the identification that he made

between two representations of value, art and money." (43) Alpers sees Rembrandt's paintings as commodities, since they "displayed no intrinsic value: they could not be mistaken for an object of value" (unlike for example Jan Bruegel's paintings of flowers or jewels); "they were not fashioned out of expensive materials", and the craftsmanship employed in their construction could not be valued in established terms. Instead, Rembrandt "exploited the nature of paintings as durable goods to promote them in the market. And his paintings shared with money - a piece of metal or of paper, marked with certain symbols - a quality which economists refer to as abstract: though nothing in itself, it is accepted as the representation of value." (44) Rembrandt's works, Alpers states, are "commodities distinguished from others by being identified as his; and in making them, he in turn commodifies himself". (45)

Art works, then, became exchangeable commodities under the pressure of capitalism, albeit ones with their own specific structures. Their organic unity, their immediate and specific purpose, becomes destroyed, and they turn into things to be owned or disposed of in the external world; like the humanity of man, their "original and authentic substantiality" became denied, and their content is obscured and their unity as use-value is dissolved.

This development of art as an exchangeable commodity is also related to the rise in the personal appropriation and collecting of it as a luxury, as a private adornment. This is an aspect of what Mészáros calls the "privatization inherent in capitalist development". (46) With the extension of *commodity-production*, he states, the individual's rôle as a *private consumer* acquires an increasingly greater significance. (47) In Marx's terms, "the sheer estrangement of all the senses - *the sense of having*" replaces all other physical and mental senses. (48)

A sure indication of art having entered into a pure commodity relationship is the finding in the early sixteenth century (excluding the classical world) of the first agents or middlemen trading in works of art. This construction of the intermediary role for the dealer is important for this thesis; we have already seen in the chapters on the history of art forgery the central role that dealers have played in the commissioning of forgeries and in the passing off of them.

The first known professional art dealers included Giovanni Battista della Palla, Jacopo Strada, and Niccolò Stoppi. (49) As the Wittkowers observe, the development of their commerce was "only possible at a time when works of art were valued as the individual creations of great masters, when names were bought and high prices were involved. Without an awareness that artists were in a category of their own, wholly divorced from the traditional crafts, the new type of art dealer could not have arisen." (50) Once established, the dealer increasingly became interposed between artist and collector, contributing to the isolation of the artist and the commodification of his work. Hauser, summing up these interactions, argues that "the trade in works of art develops hand in hand with the spread and final domination of collecting as a form of the consumption of art ... Collecting, the open art market, free competition, and initiative, emancipation, and loss of security condition one another". (51)

Significantly, encouragement was given to the art trade by the crash in 1557 of the Antwerp stock market, and the inflation which followed the import from the New World of extensive quantities of gold. The commercial value of art works at this time became determined more precisely, with prices influenced by the age of objects. The works of the more famous Cinquecento artists became most highly valued, followed by the works (necessarily more and more rare) of any good master who was not living. (52)

"After the sixteenth century", Hauser notes, "the new international market for art developed in a thoroughly organized and stereotypical way". Centres which became important for the art trade were Flanders, Italy, Prague, and Munich. (53) Sales increased everywhere as collecting became popular in the seventeenth century. Entire collections from Italy were sold en bloc in the auctions of London and Paris, and the increasing number of Italian paintings exported to France, Spain, England and other European countries was one of the factors which encouraged the development of dealing. London, after 1770, saw an increase in the number of picture dealers, who busied themselves in finding clients for the increasing number of foreign pictures entering the country. (One London dealer, called Goodall, at one time exhibited over one thousand pictures "lately consigned from abroad and, including many attributed by him to eminent masters".) (54) Auctions of paintings were frequent by the eighteenth century, particularly in England and France. (55) By the nineteenth

century the art market had expanded tremendously; dealers' galleries multiplied rapidly throughout Europe and America, with those of Wildenstein, Colnaghi, Seligmann, Agnew, and Knoedler amongst the most famous. In the twentieth century the pace increased further. According to Zeldin, Paris in 1861 contained 104 picture dealers; by 1958 this number had increased to 275. (He adds, however, that these figures "represent only a proportion of the many middlemen, painters' widows, unemployed artists, women of leisure and crooks who lived on the fringes of the art world, profiting from the passions of collectors, the poverty of painters and each others gambling instincts.") (56)

Overall, Salerno argues, these developments were "related to the rise of the bourgeoisie and the development of industry. The aristocratic patron was replaced by the modern capitalist or businessman, who bought for investment or speculation." (57)

That pure love of art was not the primary interest of much collecting and acquisition is clear. The investment and speculative potential of art in the world of commodity exchange was apparently appreciated from early on. Pye, for instance, noted that competition for works of art between Charles I and Philip IV of Spain "raised the prices of works of celebrated masters in Europe till they tripled in value: that, in consequence, works of art became real treasures as objects of commerce ..." (58) Mme de Sévigné wrote in 1675 against the art collecting of her son-in-law, M de Grignan. The pictures were, however, defended as investments by her friend, Coulanges, who argued that "Pictures are like bars of gold; you sell them at any time for double the price you gave for them". (59) Moriarty says of this event that "consciously or not, Grignan is behaving with perfect bourgeois rationality, borrowing in order to invest with the possibility of returns far higher than the original loan". (60) Similarly, the Abbé Louis Fouquet in 1655 wrote to his brother that although it was difficult to acquire works by Poussin and that they fetched fantastic prices, nonetheless, it would be profitable to commission some paintings from the artist since his works would become a thousand times more expensive and scarcer after he had died. (61) And in 1780 the art dealer Lebrun argued that "By buying fine pictures one can be sure of agreeable and valuable possessions; and one can enjoy the advantage that the civilized person always seeks, of both taking pleasure in and increasing

his wealth." (62) Another dealer, Joullain, in 1783 published lists which showed the increased value of particular paintings as they passed from collections and sales during the century. (63)

Winstanley writing in 1828 sardonically observed that

There is not a sober calculating Merchant or Trader that frequents the Exchange, but would listen to the tale which offers a certain, or even a probable profit, on a purchase of Pictures "recently landed from the Continent". The traffic in these articles of taste, the value of which is at all times varying and uncertain, and is oftener governed by fortuitous circumstances than by judgement, has many attractions; and a speculation in Work of Art is always supposed to offer a golden harvest of profit. (64)

Collectors and speculators were no doubt encouraged by such observations as that of George Redford, art sales correspondent for *The Times* at the end of the nineteenth century, who noted in his book *Art Sales - A History of Sales of Pictures and Other Works of Art*, of 1888, that:

It may perhaps be added without any hesitation, that reviewing past sales, and looking to those of the present time, we may feel confident that undeniably fine pictures, both by the Old Masters and by the great modern painters of our own and the Continental schools, will maintain the high prices paid for them; and according to the usual result, the increase in the demand with the scarcity of the supply will lead to an advance in the price." (65)

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century it was a common view that it might be more advantageous to invest in art than in unstable currency (66) This perception was reinforced in the following century by the great depression in 1929, which destroyed the wealth of many share-holders. Those, however, who had bought works of art found that they could often sell them at a profit, even at that time. This, Rheims argues, was "a revelation that sent prices for the most ordinary works of art soaring up after 1932". (An American periodical, he notes, referred in 1933 to a work by Renoir as "blue-chip".) (67)

Regarding prices paid for art in the late twentieth century, Hughes states that, "Never before have the visual arts been the subject ... of such extreme inflation and fetishization." Further, he argues, the major project of the art-market since the 1960s has been "to convince everyone that works of art, although they don't bear interest, offer such dramatic

and consistent capital gains ... that they are worth investing large sums of money in." Important in this project was the construction of the Times/Sotheby Art Indexes which supposedly give reliable statistical data on the price movements of works of art. These indexes "objectified the hitherto dicey idea of art investment. They made it seem hardheaded and realistic to own art." (68)

This discussion should have shown the interconnections between the rise of the artist, the development of the self-contained art work and art collecting, and the wider macro-social conditions essentially associated with the capitalist economic system, specifically those of individualism and commodification. Art forgery, which at first appears to be a fairly marginal and commonplace activity, can be related, through intermediary processes, to basic social and economic conditions. When art works entered into commercial relations, with some types achieving prices significantly beyond their costs of production, then their fraudulent reproduction was almost inevitable. Fuller has been the only writer fully, although briefly, to appreciate these connections, arguing that:

forgery requires as its precondition a situation in which ... distortion and dislocation of values has taken place. It is only if value in exchange is dissociated from, and given primacy over, value in perception that forgery can take place at all. Historically, forgeries have only risen where there has been a market in art. The forger exploits the contradictions inherent in such a situation without making any attempts to transcend or surpass the situation itself. Where art does not have a value as property, or in exchange, the problem of forgery withers away. (69)

Forgers are condemned, he states, only because their activities "infringe the capacity of art to function as property". Their practices "incidentally reveals the character of art under capitalism: the bourgeoisie is fully prepared to countenance, sponsor and patronise the debasement of the value of images *in perception*; nevertheless, it will defend to the limit any attempt to tamper with the value of the art work *in exchange*." (70)

---0---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Quoted in S S Prawner, *Karl Marx and World Literature*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978, p.314.
2. M Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (1946), Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1975, p. 16.
3. P Sweezy, "A Critique", in R Hilton (ed), *The Transition From Feudalism To Capitalism*, New Left Books, London, 1976, p.35; and P Anderson, *Passages From Antiquity to Feudalism*, New Left Books, London, 1974, p. 147

For Marx, personal dependency formed the foundation of society in the European Middle Ages, and for this reason there was "no necessity for labour and its products to assume a form different from their reality". In such a society, "the particular and natural form of labour - and not as in a society based on production of commodities, its general abstract form - is the immediate social form of labour". Thus, the produce of a peasant family, such as corn, cattle and clothing for home use, were "as regards the family, so many products of its labour, but as between themselves, they are not commodities". (*Capital*, vol.1 - quoted in H Lefebvre, *The Sociology of Marx*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972, p.61) Anderson does, however, point out that there was a "dynamic opposition" in the feudal mode of production "between an urban economy of increasing commodity exchange, controlled by merchants and organized in guilds, and a rural economy of natural exchange, controlled by nobles and organized in manors and strips, with communal and individual peasant enclaves." However, he continues, "the preponderance of the latter was enormous: the feudal mode of production was primarily agrarian". (Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp.150-51)

4. Quoted in E M W Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1943), Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1963, p.39.
5. R H Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926), Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1977, pp.35-6.
6. J Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), Phaidon, London, 1955, p.81.
7. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p.192.

According to Marx, the really revolutionary road in the transition from the feudal mode of production was where "The producer becomes a merchant and capitalist, in contradiction from agricultural natural economy and the guild-enriched handicrafts of medieval town industry." (*Capital*, III - quoted in Sweezy, *op. cit.*, p.54) He saw the circulation of commodities as the starting point of capital, with commodity production and developed commodity circulation - that is, trade - forming the historical preconditions under which it arose. Although the first beginnings of capitalist production could be found

sporadically in certain Mediterranean towns in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, Marx saw the capitalist era as dating from the sixteenth century, when the "modern life history of capital" was opened up by the development of world trade and the world market. Wherever capitalist production appeared, he argued, "the abolition of serfdom has long been effected, and the highest development of the middle ages, the existence of sovereign towns, has long been on the wane". (*Capital*, I - quoted in Sweezy, *op. cit.*, p.50)

8. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p.293.
9. R-H Bautier, *The Economic Development of Medieval Europe*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1971, p. 170.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
11. *Ibid.*, p.256.
12. Dobb, *op. cit.*, p.36.
13. K Takahashi, "A contribution to the Discussion", in Hilton (ed), *op. cit.*, pp.71-2.
14. M Rader, *Marx's Interpretation of History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1979, pp.126-7.
15. R Williams, *Keywords*, Fontana, Glasgow, 1976, p.135.
16. I Mészáros, *Marx's Theory of Alienation*, 4th edition, Merlin Press, London, 1975, pp.255 and 262.
17. *Ibid.*, p.258.
18. Dobb, *op. cit.*, p.161.
19. A von Martin, *The Sociology of the Renaissance* (1932), Harper & Row, New York, 1963, p.25.

Of course, this development of individualism was not straightforward - Horkheimer and Adorno see the "principle of individuality" as being "always full of contradictions", with individuation never really being fully achieved. "Self preservation in the shape of class", they argue, "has kept everyone at the stage of mere species being. Every bourgeois characteristic, in spite of its deviation and indeed because of it, expressed the same thing: the harshness of the competitive society. The individual who supported society bore its disfiguring mark; seemingly free, he was actually the product of its economic and social apparatus." (M Horkheimer and T W Adorno, *Dialectics of Enlightenment* Allan Lane, Harmondsworth, 1973, p.155)

20. Von Martin, *op. cit.*, p.25.
21. T W Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1984, p.247.

22. Mészáros, *op. cit.*, p.258.
23. S Avineri, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1968, p.33.
24. Mészáros, *op. cit.*, p.258.
25. *Ibid.*, p.263.
26. K Marx, *Grundrisse*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1973, pp.296-97.
27. This was particularly the case with artists who embraced nineteenth century Romanticism and its derivatives. Baudelaire for one was aware of, and disliked, the developing trend. Writing on the Salon of 1846, he stated that "The present state of painting is the result of an anarchic freedom which glorifies the individual, however feeble he may be, to the detriment of communities ... This glorification of the individual has necessitated the infinite division of the territory of art. The absolute and divergent liberty of each man, the division of effort and the disjunction of the human will have led to this weakness, this doubt and this poverty of invention. ... Individuality - that little place of one's own - has devoured collective originality. ... It is the painter who has killed the act of painting." (Quoted in G Pelles, *Art, Artist and Society*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1963, p.96)
28. Mészáros, *op. cit.*, pp.204-5.
29. G Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness* (1922), Merlin Press, London, 1971, p.83.
30. A S Vázquez, *Art and Society: Essays in Marxist Aesthetics*, Merlin Press, London, 1973, p.189-90.
31. *Ibid.*, p.190.
32. Avineri, *op. cit.*, p.115.
33. Lukács, *op. cit.*, p.100.
34. G A Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978, p.130.
35. Lukács, *op. cit.*, p.89.
36. *Ibid.*, p.93.
37. *Ibid.*, p.92.
38. G Francastel, "Giorgione, Titian, and the Commercialization of the Work of Art"; extract in P Burke, *The Renaissance*, Longman, London, 1964, pp.41-42.

39. M Horkheimer and T W Adorno, *Dialectics of Enlightenment*, Allan Lane, Harmondsworth, 1973, pp. 157-58.

"The purposelessness of the great modern work of art", Horkheimer and Adorno argue, "depends on the market's anonymity.. Its demands pass through so many intermediaries that the artist is exempt from any definite requirements - though admittedly only to a certain degree, for throughout the whole history of the bourgeoisie his autonomy was only tolerated, and thus contained an element of untruth which ultimately led to the social liquidation of art." (*Ibid.*)

40. Harold Rosenberg has written that "The market is for Art, not for works of art - there are collectors for whom any work by so-and-so will do; recently, I have heard of sales of unseen paintings consummated over the telephone". (H Rosenberg, "Art Books, Book Art, Art", *Partisan Review*, 1960)
41. Vazquez, *op. cit.*, p.191.
42. *Ibid.*, p.194.
43. S Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise - The Studio and the Market*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1988, p.88.

Alpers says that Adam Smith's statement of mankind, "Every man thus lives by exchanging or becomes in some measure a merchant", was particularly appropriate for application to Rembrandt. (p.109)

44. *Ibid.*, pp.109-10.

Alpers notes that Rembrandt's rejection of the patronage system did not entail him embracing the market in its traditional form; rather, he "felt his way towards finding a place for art in the operations of the developing capitalist marketplace". His story is one of "debts undertaken and loans extended, which circulated as pieces of paper representing the works of art or the money in question". (p.96) There had been cases of paintings being used as credit before - for example, in 1565 Nicholas Jongelinck offered the city of Antwerp his collection of paintings as collateral for a friend's tax arrears - but Rembrandt transformed such previously isolated incidents into "an entire practice", which was to have a long life. For example, after the financial crash of 1929, Rembrandt's *Aristotle* was returned by its owner to the dealer Duveen in exchange for a substantial loan and then bought back. The exercise was then repeated twice more between the parties. In this case, Alpers notes, "the painting was circulating as Rembrandt himself circulated art in the marketplace system of exchange. The value of a painting is a function of exchange; only where its progress finally stops in a museum can it be described as priceless." (pp.97-8)

45. *Ibid.*, p.118-19.

This is not to deny the profound human values contained in Rembrandt's works. Rather, the point is that these can be overridden in effect by the consequences of their commodification.

46. Mészáros, *op. cit.*, pp.202-03.
47. *Ibid.*, p.258.
48. Quoted in Mészáros, *op. cit.*, p.204.
49. L Salerno, "The Modern and Contemporary Art Market", in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, 1963, p.253.
50. R Wittkower and M Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists*, Norton, New York, 1969, p. 20.
51. A Hauser, *The Sociology of Art*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1982, pp.507-8.
52. Salerno, *op. cit.*, pp.253-54.
53. Hauser, *op. cit.*, p.513.
54. F Herrmann, *The English as Collectors*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1972, p.27

In mid-eighteenth century England, Pears notes, the art market had become more complex, with dealers not infrequently being both the buyers and sellers in auctions, with some pictures going through the hands of a number of middlemen, so that "the route from old to new owner became greatly lengthened". A proportion of the art trade thus became artificially generated, and there was "a growing stock of floating paintings in the limbo of the market", part of which was speculated in. (D Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, pp.91-91)

55. Conisbee notes that "Following the pattern of growth in collecting, the annual number of picture sales in Paris increased from very few before 1730 to about five during the 1750s, fifteen during the 1760s, and about forty during the 1770s and '80s. ... About half of these would be of collections formed by an individual ... But dealers also formed collections of their own with a view to selling them by auction, and these accounted for roughly the remaining half of the sales. The number of art dealers also increased in the second part of the century ..." (P Conisbee, *Painting in Eighteenth-Century France*, Phaidon, Oxford, 1981, p.29)
56. T Zeldin, *France 1848-1945: Taste and Corruption*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1980, p.116.
57. Salerno, *op. cit.*, pp.254-5.
58. J Pye, *Patronage of British Art*, London, 1845, p.18.

59. M Moriarty, *Taste and Ideology in Seventeenth Century France*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, p. 79.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

61. M Rheims, *Art on the Market*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1961, p. 239.

That this awareness was at least in part well founded is shown by the auction of Rubens's art collection immediately after his death in 1640. The prices fetched by the pictures were about double what would have been charged by Rubens himself, and the price of the artist's best-known works increased further in the latter part of the century.) (Z Z Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987, p. 161)

62. Conisbee, *op. cit.*, p. 29

63. *Ibid.*

Giovanni Battista Sommariva (1760-1826) was also particularly explicit about the commercial aspects of art collecting. In a letter to his son in 1822, he wrote, regarding the death of the sculptor Canova, "Now the value of his works will be doubled". He also noted: "It is true that it is an expensive business to cultivate the fine arts; but the capital always remains, and indeed sometimes increases"; and, he hoped that his purchase of Thorwaldsen's marble frieze of the triumph of Alexander, was the best deal he had "ever made in a matter of this kind, bearing in mind also the question of investment". (F Haskell, "An Italian Patron of French Neo-Classical Art", in *Past and Present in Art and Taste - Selected Essays*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1987, pp. 54 and 57)

64. T Winstanley, *Observations on the Arts*, London, 1828, p. 12.

Winstanley continues, however, that there was "a sad reverse of this picture ... Many a sum of high importance has been given for a worthless daub, extolled by practical fraud and well-planned artifice. Many "splendid Collections" have been purchased abroad by the united efforts of cupidity and ignorance, and imported into this country on speculation, which, when brought to sale, would not produce the expense of conveyance and duty on the importation ..." (p. 13)

65. G Redford, *Art Sales - A History of Sales of Pictures and Other Works of Art*, 2 vols (issued only to subscribers), London, 1888, vol 2, p. xxvii.

66. Rheims, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

The weekly art journal *Moniteur des Arts* was quite open about the commercial side of art:

"The taste for objects of art grows continually ... one should not be surprised, then, at the immense development in recent years, of public

sales and art commerce. Paris, much more than London, is considered the price-regulator ... However ... this other *Bourse*, the Hôtel Drouot, where, annually, more than twenty million francs changes hands, is but a stepchild of investments and railroads when it comes to publicity. Its news, so interesting, both from the point of view of art and of speculation, lacks a special organ which could ... keep its readers *au courant* the commercial value of art objects".

(H C White and C A White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World*, Wiley, New York, 1965, p.78)

67. Rheims, *op. cit.*, pp.199-200.
68. R Hughes, "On Art and Money", in *The New York Review of Books*, Dec. 6, 1984, pp.20-27. See generally Geraldine Keen's *The Sale of Works of Art: A Study Based on the Times-Sotheby Index*, Nelson, London, 1971. Ms Keen helped to establish the Index, and as Geraldine Norman has also written on the forger Tom Keating.
69. P Fuller, "Forgeries", in *Art Monthly*, Oct. 1976, no 1, p.8.
70. *Ibid.*, p.7.

ART AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

The Civilising Process

The arguments in the previous chapter go somewhat towards explaining the general social conditions which were necessary before the particular factors required for art forgery could develop. We have seen how the rise of artistic individualism and difference can be understood as following from the more general social and ideological conditions of alienation which were a necessary part of the development of the capitalist economic structure. It was also shown how the general trend towards commodification of objects, so as to enable their involvement in the new market economy, came to include within it the buying and selling of art works. The break in the nexus between producer and consumer, the distancing caused by the intervention of the market, enabled forgery to develop through destroying the intimate and immediate awareness of the process of art production. Also, the profit motive introduced by the market actively encouraged forgery where the natural supply of works by particular artists could not be sustained.

But these points do not fully or adequately explain the social dynamics which lie behind the continual rise in art forgery which has occurred since the sixteenth century. No account has yet been given of just why art should have taken on the particular cultural role which it did, which made the forging of it a significant event. Clearly, art works could in principle have entered into a commercial relationship without them becoming highly desired and individually expensive (and in practice, as we have seen, they did so for a period in seventeenth century Holland). They are not intrinsically valuable. The question then is why, in the social conditions from about the sixteenth century onwards, did at least some

types of art objects take on a mantle of superiority which led to extravagant sums of money passing for the possession of them.

In answering this question, we can make use of and adapt Bourdieu's concepts of "cultural capital" and "distinction". Bourdieu has shown how relationships to artistic taste (amongst other cultural issues) are actively involved in processes of domination and reproduction, and privileging and exclusion. According to him, "Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make ..."

(1) Taste functions as a marker of class and status. More particularly:

The denial of lower, coarse, vulgar, venal, servile - in a word, natural - enjoyment, which constitutes the sacred sphere of culture, implies an affirmation of the superiority of those who can be satisfied with the sublimated, refined, disinterested, gratuitous, distinguished pleasures forever closed to the profane. That is why art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences. (2)

Cultural consumption operates so as to create, reproduce and legitimise a set of class relations, with "all practices, including those purporting to be disinterested or gratuitous, and hence non-economic, [being] economic practices directed towards the maximizing of material or symbolic profit". (3) Bourdieu's perspective has been summarised by Garnham and Williams. The area of culture, they argue, "serves as a marker and thus a reinforcer of class relations" for two reasons:

First because a field occupied by objects and practices with minimal use-value, indeed in the subfield of art with a positive rejection of use value, is a field in which *par excellence* the struggle is governed by a pure logic of difference and distinction, a pure logic of positionality. Secondly because the specifically historical creation of art as a special category of social object and social practice defined by its difference from and distance from everyday material reality and indeed its superiority to it, together with its matching ideology ... are an expression of and objectively actually depend upon the relative actual distance from economic necessity provided by the ... possession of economic capital. (4)

Bourdieu's interest is in showing the logic behind the relationships between the consumption or appropriation of particular cultural goods and

practices, and the reproduction of social classes in contemporary France. The origins of his concerns, however, can be traced to some centuries further back and his conclusions can be given more general application.

We have seen how a new attitude to art and to some artists developed in Italy from about the fifteenth century onwards, and then elsewhere in western Europe. An appreciation of art began to emerge which divorced works more and more from their particular representational and external functions. Art became more self-conscious and refined, was collected for its own sake, and became the subject of direct discussion and discourse. These developments, it was argued, were related to the intellectual interests and interventions of the humanists.

These new directions, however, can also be seen to be actively related to the wider economic and political changes of the time, beyond the relationship outlined in the previous chapter; that is, humanism itself and its effects were part of the new ideology of those classes who were replacing the elite of the old feudal order. It is important to consider the processes operating behind these changes.

The feudal aristocracy in most of Europe by the late middle ages had become an hereditary ruling class, based on arms, land, and blood. Its power, authority and status derived from these. However, due to changing social and economic conditions, its functional position as a warrior caste began to disappear and its economic security based on fixed incomes derived from land became significantly undermined, in part due to serious inflation. The feudality almost everywhere in western Europe became increasingly handicapped in comparison with the fortunes of the new traders and merchants. (5) Whilst it remained an important power, its control was continuously reduced, since it could no longer supply the leadership which the new economic and political interests required. "By the end of the fifteenth century", Gilmore states, "there had appeared a more dynamic interaction between [the] inherited form of social order and the newer form of economic power". (6) An environment was being created, he argues, "in which it was increasingly possible to improve one's condition and rise in the social scale". Whilst there were some contrary currents and some new rigidities in certain areas of life, "the general loosening of the old bonds was one of those fundamental changes felt directly or indirectly in

every form of human activity." (7) Similarly, Braudel argues that the period from about 1470 to 1580, in which a vigorous economy had created trading fortunes, was "an age of accelerated social promotion throughout Europe", with members of the bourgeoisie climbing to the highest places in society. (8)

What was happening at this time, then, was, in Elias's terms, a "social circulation of ascending and descending groups and individuals", leading ultimately to the formation "from elements from diverse social origins [of] a new upper class, a new aristocracy ...". (9)

The nineteenth century French historian and social commentator, Alexis de Tocqueville, summarised the consequences of this move from an aristocracy of birth to one of money, in his study *Democracy in America*. There he wrote:

When it is birth alone, independent of wealth, which classes men in society, every one knows exactly what his own position is upon the social scale; he does not seek to rise, he does not fear to sink. In a community thus organized, men of different castes communicate very little with each other; but if accident brings them together, they are ready to converse without hoping or fearing to lose their own position. Their intercourse is not upon a footing of equality, but it is not constrained. (10)

However, these relationships change fundamentally once wealth overtakes birth as the defining quality. In such circumstances, Tocqueville argued:

The privileges of some are still extremely great, but the possibility of acquiring those privileges is open to all: whence it follows that those who possess them are constantly haunted by the apprehension of losing them, or of other men sharing them; those who do not yet enjoy them, long to possess them at any cost, or, if they fail, to appear at least to possess them, which is not impossible. As the social importance of men is no longer ostensibly and permanently fixed by blood, and is infinitely varied by wealth, ranks still exist, but it is not easy clearly to distinguish at a glance those who respectively belong to them. Secret hostilities then arise in the community; one set of men endeavour by innumerable artifices to penetrate or to appear to penetrate, amongst those who are above them; another set are constantly in arms against these usurpers of their rights; or rather the same individual does both at once, and whilst he seeks to raise himself into a higher circle, he is always on the defensive against the intrusion of those below him. (11)

While the new economic and political élite retained or adopted many of the attitudes and values of the older nobility, nonetheless, in the qualitatively different and dynamic environment of early capitalism, other ideologies necessarily had to be developed to uphold the new, fluid and more complex social order. Pears (referring to the position in eighteenth century England) argues that "a combination of rapid social change, urban development and redistribution of income focused concern above all on a feeling that old rules and standards of recognition were becoming less effective in ordering society and marking its various boundaries", resulting in "a crisis of symbolism, in which previously stable social referents lost their fixity and became more difficult to interpret with confidence ..." (12) These concerns were also to be found in the previous centuries.

An alternative justification had to be constructed to support and to consolidate the authority of the new élite. Possession of mere wealth was insufficient. It is here that humanism provided a key. Although part of its arguments and positions had been in currency for some time, the soil of the new societies, with their organisational, bureaucratic, and diplomatic rather than military needs, was now sufficiently fertile for them to take root and flourish.

Humanism was primarily concerned with the study and development of the literature of classical Rome and Greece, particularly with the fields of knowledge centering on the concerns of man in society, such as grammar and rhetoric, poetry, ethics and history. (13) Its importance in advancing the claims of the supporters of the new social structure is explained by Von Martin. It represented, he argues,

an ideology which played a closely defined part in the bourgeoisie's struggle for emancipation and power. The concept of a "humanist" knowledge concerned with truths applicable to humanity in general, with an ethical system based upon personal *virtus* (i.e. the ability gained by an individual's own endeavour), implies the negation of all privileges based upon birth and Estate; it implies the negation of the belief in supernatural powers which had been taught by the clergy, in favour of a "natural philosophy". (14)

Virtue was thus contrasted with nobility, moral worth with social rank. This attitude was made clear in Castiglione's immensely important *Book of the Courtier*, published in Italy in 1528, and soon after translated

into French, Spanish and English. In this work it was positively replied to the argument that noble birth was like a bright lamp which made visible both good and evil deeds, and that the humbly born therefore lacked an important stimulus to creative activity, that:

I say that ... nobility of birth does not appear to me so essential to the Courtier. ... I could cite instances of many men born of the noblest blood who have been full of vices and on the other hand many men among the humbly born who by their virtue have made their posterity illustrious. (15)

The arguments of humanism were therefore important in undermining what had previously appeared to be the "natural" and "God-given" superior position of the nobility, with its basis on land, lineage, and hereditary succession. The emphasis on the principles of *humanitas* implied the levelling of differences of estate, with the concept of *virtus* operating as an alternative basis of worthiness and justification for the possession of authority.

However, although there might seem to be pretensions within this view towards universality and general equality, this was in practice undermined through virtue becoming equated with learning, and moral worth with intellectual activities, both of which were in practice limited to small, élite groups. This restriction of meaning and content of virtue had an important purpose. Martines observes that "The humanist conception of the union between learning and virtue was cast in the language and context of privilege and oligarchy." (16) The heroic vision did not speak for all men, for, "however general the heroic view of man's dignity, however much it purported to depend upon a notion of human potentiality, none came closer to realization of the ideal than the men with the resources for learning, culture, patronage, and the *trained* capacity for enjoyment of the world's goods." (17) The humanists themselves, not surprisingly, were not disinterested in the issues; they defined themselves "with reference not to poverty but to power", and proposed, in their roles as virtuous sages, "to help moralise power and politics". Almost all the humanist dialogues, Martines writes, recommended, in effect, that "an intellectual-literary élite stand at the forefront of society and politics, alongside those already there by birth". (18) Similarly, Von Martin writes that there was "a community of interests ... between the capitalist *haute bourgeoisie* and

the humanists". (19) Both served each other in the process of particular social advancement and consolidation of the new power élite. This intellectual battle was "concurrent with and parallel to the economic and political struggle" of the time. (20)

The increasing importance attached to possessing humanist knowledge is made clear by Stone, although his study is from the threatened position of the aristocracy, whose traditional power was being undermined by the new social conditions. "Between 1540 and 1600", he argues, "there occurred one of the really decisive movements in English history by which the propertied classes exploited and expanded the higher educational resources of the country. By doing so they fitted themselves to rule in the new conditions of the modern state ..." (21) There was developing at this time, he states, a growing anxiety within the nobility regarding their ability to maintain control of the central positions in the political system. This worry was well-founded in that early sixteenth century England had been essentially ruled by two "new men" of lowish birth, Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell, and that more and more high political and administrative posts were being held by laymen of ability from the lesser gentry or lower. (22) The reason for this lay with the nobility themselves according to Edmund Dudley, who in his treatise *The Tree of Commonwealth* (c. 1510) warned that they would be left behind by lesser men if they did not improve themselves:

For be you suer it is not Honourable blood and great possession, or riche apparell, y^t makyth a man honorable, Hym self being of vnhonorable condicions; and the more honorable in blood y^t he is the more more noble in condicions ought he to be, and the more shame and dishonour yt is to hym to be the contrary. Therefore, you noble men, for the better contynewaunce of your Blood in honor sett your childeren in youth, and that betyme, to the lerning of vertue and conning, and at the lest bring them vp in honor and vertue. For verily I feare me, the noble men and gentlemen of England be the worst brought vp for the most parte of any realme of christendom, And therefore the childeren of poore men and meane folke are promotyd to the promocion and auctorite y^t thee childeren of noble Blood should haue yf thei were mete therefore. (23)

In the same vein, half a century later, in 1570, Roger Ascham wrote regarding the nobility's predicament that "The fault is in your selves, ye noble men's sonnes, that commonlie the meaner mens children cum to be the wisest counsellours and greatest doers in the weightie affaires of this

Realme. And why? For God will have it so, of his providence, because ye will have it no otherwise, by your negligence". (24) Similar concerns existed elsewhere in Europe in the sixteenth century: In France, for example, La Noue spoke of the sunken nature of the French nobility, ruled by custom and preferring hunting and brawling rather than educating their children to be *choses honnestes*, while another author deplored "the nobles' Gothic fashion of hating learning and learned men as if books and arms were things incompatible". (25) Thierriat, in 1606, saw that public functions had largely passed to non-nobles because of the nobles' lack of education: "The calamity of the time and the ignorance that we affect", he argued, "have brought us to the point of not being preferred to roturiers unless equal to them in merit. It is judged unreasonable that a gentleman destitute of knowledge and experience be preferred to an experienced and learned routier". (26)

Frequently, Stone states, it was forcefully argued, against the nobility's ignorance, that "the justification of the privileges enjoyed by the nobility was service to the commonwealth; that the definition of nobility was not exclusively good birth, but ancestry coupled with virtue; and that virtue consisted not only in devotion to God and the Established Church ... not only in moral rectitude, but also in the mastery of certain technical proficiencies", including book-learning, history and languages. (27) Thus, it became increasingly important for gentlemen to be cultivated if they were to compete with the new men for power. "Culture became an essential part of the image of a worthy ruling class", Girouard argues. Although uneducated, rustic gentlemen continued to exist, they were strongly criticised by other members of their class. (28)

These debates and conflicts were not of course settled overnight - many of the concerns continued at least into the eighteenth century, a period in which there were extensive debates on the attributes which the ruling class should possess, if it was to be considered fit to rule and deserving of respect. By that time the debate was primarily conducted in terms of 'taste', a concept closely related to the older one of 'virtue'. As Pears observes, in the arguments of the eighteenth century, "Possession of taste not only indicated education and hence virtue but also implied and signified the fitness of its possessors to rule". (29) The debate on taste, he argues, "through its close links with morality, education and

notions of perception, impinged on basic questions of social relationships, altering the legitimation of the socially eminent and the way in which their position was viewed." The basis of, and justification for, this eminence became "firmly founded on a theory of cultural superiority which had at its core all the elements which gave dynamism to the question of aesthetic preference". (30) As well as this emphasis on education and culture, there was also a connected concern with the cultivation of what were seen as appropriate forms of behaviour in general; dignity and virtue were also indicated through 'good manners' and styles of living. Again, differences in this area were used by the new upper classes to indicate their superiority over the ranks of the traditional nobility which retained its rougher taste for prowess in arms, duels and hunting. (31)

It is these issues of good manners and styles of living which became the concerns of the hand-books on civility which began to emerge from the sixteenth century onwards. Elias notes that in the Middle Ages, people were told, "do this and not that; but by and large a great deal was let pass. For centuries roughly the same rules, elementary by our standards, were repeated, obviously without producing firmly established habits." In the Renaissance, however, this changed, with an increased coercion being exerted by people on one another, and a more emphatic demand for 'good behaviour'. "The question of uniform good behaviour", Elias argues, became "increasingly acute, particularly as the changed structure of the upper class expose[d] each individual member to an unprecedented extent to the pressures of others and of social control." (32) Issues concerned with behaviour took on a new importance. This is shown, for example, by Erasmus's treatise *On Civility in Children* of 1530, which brought together rules of conduct. This book was the first to be devoted specifically to the whole question of social behaviour and was a clear indication of the growing importance of that question, as was the publication of similar writings, such as Castiglione's *Courtier* and Della Casa's *Galatea*. (33)

A distinct concern with physical differentiation, connected intimately with the developments outlined above, also begins to become apparent at about this time. Burke has identified this change in relation to popular culture. In 1500, he argues, this was "everyone's culture; a second culture for the educated, and the only culture for everyone else". By the end of the eighteenth century, however, in most of Europe, the nobility and

the clergy, the merchants and professional men had "abandoned popular culture to the lower classes, from whom they were now separated, as never before, by profound differences in world view." (34) Thus, Fielding noted,

Whilst the People of Fashion seized places to their own use, such as courts, assemblies, operas, balls, etc; the people of no fashion ... have been in constant possession of all hops, fairs, revels, etc ... so far from looking on each other as brethren in the Christian Language, they seem scarce to regard each other as of the same species. (35)

There was therefore, alongside the construction of a cultural homogeneity in the upper social strata, a corresponding undermining and rejection from these quarters of popular recreations. Plebian habits were redefined and condemned as merely recreational, with a premium being placed on 'high culture' as the only true culture, and one which was not open to the masses. As Pears argues, popular culture became "clearly branded as merely the occupation of the vulgar in contrast to the more purely intellectual 'pleasures of the understanding' which characterised - ideally at least - the refined, delicate and educated." (36)

Thus, noblemen ceased to wrestle with their peasants, as they had previously done in Lombardy, and in Spain they no longer killed bulls in public as sport. They instead adopted 'correct' modes of speaking and writing which accorded with formal rules and avoided the dialect words which craftsmen and peasants used, and they withdrew from the public space of communal halls where they had eaten with their retainers, into private and exclusive dining and other living rooms in new buildings designed to secure their separateness. The nobility, both new and old - and copying them, the professional and merchant classes - adopted "more 'polished' manners, a new and more self-conscious style of behaviour, modelled on the courtesy-books". They learned "to exercise self-control, to behave with a studied nonchalance, to cultivate a sense of style, and to move in a dignified manner". These changes, Burke argues, had their social function in justifying the privileges of the upper class, who "had to show they were different from other people" in the new social reality. (37)

This withdrawal from popular culture took place over a fairly extended period, with some countries encountering it sooner and some later. According to Burke, "In Italy, the literary and social ideals formulated in

the 1520s by Bembo and Castiglione implied a rejection of popular culture, and there is evidence for increasing separation between the amusements of the poor and those of the rich in Florence and in Rome in the late sixteenth century." In France there was a slow but steady process of withdrawal between 1500 and 1800, whilst in England the upper classes withdrew relatively early from popular activities. (38) There were similar changes even in the relatively democratic and bourgeois Netherlands. During the early decades of the seventeenth century the families who held the higher administrative offices remained in direct contact with the lower classes through such organisations as the municipal shooting companies and rhetorician societies. However, as the century progressed, a distancing developed between the patrician class and the rest of society as the former amassed great family fortunes, forsook active trade and adopted aristocratic manners. (39) According to Rosenberg et al, "They bought estates in the country to which they retired during the summer months. Many tried to get some kind of title or sign of nobility. Within the towns and cities intimate contact with the greater mass of the people, which was so fruitful for the development of a genuine bourgeois culture was lost". (40) They instead adopted the tastes and style of life similar to the aristocracies of other countries, and in turn their manners and cultural outlook were copied by the wealthier sections of Dutch society. (41) One of the results of this distancing was that the upper class ceased to have an interest in indigenous Dutch painting which they now saw as vulgar, lacking in sufficient dignity.

This new importance attached to culture and manners arising from power shifts and social reconstruction is particularly well illustrated by developments in French society of the seventeenth century. According to Moriarty, it was in reality power which was at stake in all the discussions about taste in France at that time. "The discourse of taste", he argues, "provided a sphere in which major transformations ... could be negotiated, assimilated, resisted". (42) Concerns with taste extended far beyond the limited area of aesthetics. It was "not a philosophical concept directed at purely speculative truth; rather, discourses of taste meshed with divergent and conflicting representations of society". Taste designated "various modes of 'recognition' of cultural difference, and through that of social difference, always in terms of superiority/inferiority". (43) Issues

of taste were therefore an integral part of the relationships between the dominant class and the masses, and between different sections within the dominant class.

The conditions underpinning the structural importance of issues of taste in France at that time were the outcome of the struggle and negotiations between the state and the *noblesse d'épée* which followed from the Wars of Religion which continued from 1562 to 1598. The final victory of Henry IV over the warring magnates led to the stabilization of monarchical power and centralised absolutism, with a monopoly of force becoming largely within royal hands. There was a consequent weakening of the magnates as a group, with them becoming less autonomous and more dependent in their relationship with the Crown. The nobiliary ideology in these circumstances could no longer be represented in military terms. Instead, following from this enforced demilitarization there arose, somewhat paradoxically, a reliance on *honnêteté*, humanist-inspired restrained and polite behaviour, as the defining quality of noble difference. *Honnêteté*, Moriarty argues, was "the name of an ideal, a set of valorized practices, with which the traditional aristocracy could redefine its identity, come to terms with its increasing dependence on the state." (44)

The concept of the *honnête homme* was derived in part from Castiglione's *Courtier* and also several French imitations, including the *Guide des Courtisans* by Nervèze (1606) and *Traité de Cour* by de Refugue (1616). (45) The practice centred around the court, led by Henry IV, Louis XIII, Richelieu, Mazarin and Fouquet, and the Parisian salons of Mne de Rambouillet, Mne de Sablé and Mlle de Scudéry. (46) Elias observes that "An elaborate cultivation of outward appearances as an instrument of social differentiation, the display of rank through outward form, is characteristic ... of the whole shaping of court life", and that sensitivity to connections between social rank and the shaping of the visible environment was both a product and an expression of the courtiers' social situation. (47) Similarly, there were produced in the *préciosité* of salon life in the *hôtels* the qualities which held together, made apparent and sealed off to the world below the various elements which made up the *monde*, in particular, "a shared *savoir-vivre* and wit, a delicacy of manners and a highly developed taste". It was through such immediately perceptible

characteristics, Elias argues, that the members of the *monde* attempted to make themselves stand out from the mass of other people. (48)

Such interests continued and expanded in the following century, with the Goncourts observing of the largest and most influential *salon* of the eighteenth century, that of the Maréchale de Luxembourg: "Good society was a kind of association of both sexes the goal of which was to distinguish itself from bad society, from vulgar associations, from provincial society, by means of the perfection of pleasing forms, by refinement, courtesy, delicacy of manners, by the art of consideration and good breeding". (49)

But while the discourse of taste "helped to preserve nobiliary hegemony within the dominant class" (50), it also facilitated the admission into the *élite* of those individuals and families who were in the economic ascendancy but who were not established, for, as Moriarty argues, although "in certain forms of the discourse of *honnêteté*, new *honnête homme* is but old *gentilhomme* writ large, in others the new criteria of value tend to displace, and not merely cohabit with the old ones", with "birth and military prowess" becoming "subordinated to elegance of manners and speech". (51) *Honnêteté* embodied an ideal, forms of thinking and display, which were capable of being appropriated by those outside of the established aristocracy. The ambitious members of the middle class quickly and zealously took up the opportunities offered and sought to imitate noble interests and behaviour. By the eighteenth century, Elias writes, the nobility faced "increasing competition from rising bourgeois strata, above all the financiers, as regards outward appearances and style of life" (52); Taine observed that many commoners of the Third Estate, having achieved wealth, became "people of the *monde* ... refined, cultivated in heart and mind, tactful, versed in literature, philosophy, good manners, giving receptions, knowing how to receive visitors", to the extent that they had "the same society in their houses as in that of a *grandseigneur*." (53) Such broadening of interests was to become increasingly common across Europe and beyond. (54)

Art and the Forging of Distinction

The relevance of these developments for this thesis is that the appreciation and appropriation of art entered into and became a significant part of this process of domination through culture. The collecting of art was and is not merely another form of investment or of conspicuous consumption, a visible and concise indicator of wealth, although it has certainly also been these. Rather, art has to be considered also in the, context of its being seen, in the abstract, as contributing significantly, though not necessarily clearly, to the civilising process. (Paradoxically, as Pelles notes, while painting's "social ties with the community have become more restricted to the sphere of art itself, painting is ... considered to be intimately connected with the entire life of a culture and of human beings, a symbol of the finest values the culture has to offer, a sign of the worth of the individual personality ..." (55))

Within this context, individual art-works came to be seen as symbols of true worth, the possession of which, either through appreciation of them or physically, played a part in demonstrating and securing higher standing and responsibility, with associated privileges. Through these transformations, art-works entered into the domain of the elite and its concerns regarding taste, difference and distance, and through this appropriation its possessors set themselves apart from the more general social milieu. As we have noticed, as a condition of this, and also as a consequence, the nature of art changed, becoming separated from the crafts and the lives of the majority of the people.

Art works became part of an ideological process in a new way, operating as physical, discrete representations of the abstract concepts of culture and civilisation. Art works or images had previously been primarily involved in ideological processes either directly or indirectly, spoken or unspoken, through their individual contents. They operated as specific signs, significations and visual representations of religious or other social interests and dominations, as carriers of particular external ideologies. Now art achieved ideological significance on a new level, as an object or token important in itself, with understanding and possession of it indicating superiority and status. (56)

This liberation from the practical, from the primacy of content over form, was achieved by emphasising and valuing the aesthetic side of art works. This enabled them to achieve independent existence and to enter into the process of cultural distancing. As Bourdieu notes, "the 'naive' spectator cannot attain a specific grasp of works of art which only have meaning - or value - in relation to the specific history of an artistic tradition. The aesthetic disposition demanded by the products of a highly autonomous field of production is inseparable from a specific cultural competence". (57)

Wilkie, the nineteenth century painter, showed awareness of the qualitative changes that had taken place when he wrote that the artists who had followed Michelangelo "seem to have allowed technicalities to get the better of them, until simplicity giving way to intricacy, they appear to have painted more for the artist and the connoisseur than for the untutored apprehensions of ordinary men". (58) These painters were the Mannerists. Freedberg observes of their works that "Unless the viewer brings to the painting the refinement of sensibility, the wit and the sophisticated resource that the work of art contains beneath its mask, it will not deign to make communication." (59) Terms such as "elegant", "graceful" and "rare" became increasingly important in the sixteenth century, and were applied to paintings such as those of Raphael and Parmigianino. This "movement of purification" resulted in cultural differences between regions being replaced by cultural differences between classes, with the split for example between Lombard and Tuscany narrowing, whilst that between élite culture and popular culture widened. (60) In this development of horizontal divisions in the social structure, art became redefined and appropriated by the upper classes in private, aesthetic and intellectual terms, which excluded involvement from the lower social ranks. (61)

Gombrich confirms these developments in his observation that the "contrast between a low kind of art that appeals to the eyes of the simple-minded and a 'higher' form that can be appreciated only by the cultured, becomes a commonplace of criticism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries". In these centuries, he continues, "the contrast between the 'vulgar' and the 'noble' becomes one of the principal preoccupations of the critics." The examples of the time on what constituted "decorum", he argues, were always in the same direction, in that there was always a

strong negative element in the constitution of "good taste". (62)

A knowledge of art, then, became a necessary part of the equipment of social differentiation and superiority. It was within such a climate that collections of paintings and sculpture began to emerge on any scale. Thus Sabba de Castiglione (d.1554) in his memoirs (which were conceived as also providing lessons for the use of gentlemen) argued that a house should contain, according to taste, different cabinets which grouped together (quoting Bazin) "antique sculptures or, lacking them, works by Donatello"; "sculptures by Michelangelo or Giovanni Cristoforo Romano or their contemporaries"; "portraits or paintings by Fra Filippo Lippi, Mantegna, Bellini, Perugino, Raphael, Leonardo, Giulio Romano"; or "copper engravings or woodcuts by Italian and German artists, particularly Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden". (63)

The houses themselves, in which these galleries were set, also had their part to play. Soldani observed this in the early seventeenth century, when he stated that "What makes building so incredibly expensive is not custom but the attempt by the rich to distinguish themselves from others". Similarly, Del Migliore noted in 1684 that Florentine patricians built their great palaces "to distinguish themselves from commoners" and "in order to be respected". (64)

Collecting of art, of course, was not an activity open to everybody. It required leisure, knowledge and money; assets which were denied to those who were socially and financially inferior. This was in line with Obadiah Walker's exhortation in 1673 for a gentleman's time to be spent on "ingenious Studies", including antiquity, "such as poorer Persons are not able to support". (65) However, money itself was not enough, as Karl Eusebius von Lichtenstein observed in the seventeenth century: "anyone", he argued "can have money but not anyone can have paintings". (66) Somewhat similarly, in 1761, Samuel Johnson wrote that "Though we are far from wishing to diminish the pleasures, or depreciate the sentiments of any part of the community, we know, however, what everyone knows, that all cannot be judges or purchasers of works of art." (67) The elitist and distinguishing power of collecting and appreciating art was therefore clear enough to its early participants.

Within this climate, it soon became accepted that both noblemen and gentlemen had to have picture collections as part of their apparatus of

hegemony. "To be philistine," in the seventeenth century, Trevor-Roper argues, "not to patronize or collect, merely (like some German princes) to gorge and hunt, was an undignified rusticity". (68) And in the second half of the century, in Antwerp, Filipczak argues, art patronage was "intimately linked with the widespread desire for status and prestige". (69)

Similarly, in England in the seventeenth century, it became desirable for members of the upper classes to be virtuosi and to possess rare and splendid collections (70), and in the following century a concern with and knowledge of art became essential for a gentleman if he was to be of any reputation. According to Richardson, writing in 1719, *Connoissance* had "a Natural Tendency to promote our Interest, Power, Reputation, Politeness and even Virtue ... In Conversation (when as it frequently does) it turns upon Painting, a Gentleman that is a *Connoisseur* is distinguished, as one that has Wit, and Learning ... Not to be a *Connoisseur* on such an Occasion either silences a Gentleman, and Hurts his Character; Or he makes a Worse Figure in pretending to be what he is not to Those who see his Ignorance." (71) By the time of George II, an interest in the fine arts had spread through the wealthy and educated. Not only, Steegman argues, was "the mere acquisition of pictures and statuary becoming more valuable as a source of social prestige", it was seen as desirable also to possess, "if not expert knowledge of, at any rate an articulate enthusiasm for, the objects acquired; most persons of quality learnt at least the jargon assiduously, if not always very intelligently ..." (72)

Similar patterns and interests existed and developed in most other western European countries in the centuries following the Renaissance, with increasing expansion down the social scale as time passed. For example, in seventeenth century France the social value of patronising the arts was quite apparent to those holding on to and seeking social status. The pattern of behaviour, especially in the area of art collecting, established by the likes of Richelieu, Mazarin and Gaston, quickly found its imitators. (73)

In Holland, where, as we have seen, art collecting was an unusually widespread habit across the classes in the first half of the seventeenth century (involving, however, less exalted and discerning interests than elsewhere), significant social changes more in tune with those of the rest of Western Europe ultimately began to emerge. Towards the end of the

century the interest of the Dutch upper classes and educated elite, who had previously appreciated indigenous Dutch art along with much of the rest of the population, moved steadily towards the the views on art which were dominant in the educated and cultivated groups in the rest of Europe, initially to renaissance-classicism and then to the standards of French classicism. (74) A theory of art was accepted which was inimicable to the paintings of the Dutch school, and collecting interests among the upper classes correspondingly became much more exclusive.

Likewise, in Venice in the eighteenth century, patronage of the arts and possession of an extensive gallery were seen as necessary appendages of aristocratic status. (75)

Interest in art, as well as serving to distinguish the position of the upper social classes, was also, however, the means by which others could socially advance. Thus, for example, Sommariva (whom we have already considered regarding art and speculation) used his magnificent art collection as an instrument of prestige, by which he encouraged people to forget the discreditable origin of his wealth. (76) It was, argues Haskell, entirely by means of his collection that this one-time barber's assistant, revolutionary, and ex-Dictator of Milan and Bonapartist, found himself, as the Marquis de Sommariva, in company with the Duke of Devonshire, the Ducs de Montmorency and de Blacas and similar. He was himself very aware of the basis of his prestige, writing to his son that, although it was expensive to cultivate the fine arts, "it does us a lot of honour". (77) Similarly, it was said of the Victorian collector, Robert Vernon (whose money was made through supplying horses to the British army in the Napoleonic Wars), that his "apparent interest in art was really used simply as a means of lifting him out of obscurity into some sort of *locus standi* in the world". (78)

By the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as was shown earlier, art collecting had become a relatively widespread activity, involving many members of the middle classes. Their concerns were similar to those of their more aristocratic predecessors. In nineteenth-century France, for example, according to Zeldin, paintings had long ceased to be bought only by royalty, aristocrats and the very wealthy; they had instead become "essential decoration for every home with pretensions". (79) Thus, the connoisseur George de Sonnevile wrote in 1893, "Every rich family is

necessarily obliged to possess a gallery of pictures, and this for two compelling reasons: first, from a natural taste for modern luxury, and, secondly, because *fortune oblige*". (80) Snobbishness was certainly important in purchases of art, Zeldin argues, as was also an interest in making a sound investment.

Developments in nineteenth century America reflected those which were taking place, or had already happened, in Europe. Thus, James Jackson Jarves noted in 1864, "It has become the mode to have taste. Private galleries in New York are becoming almost as common as private stables." (81)

The new American collector is well represented by the fictional capitalist and entrepreneur, Frank Algernon Cowperwood, in Theodore Dreiser's *The Titan*, of 1914. Cowperwood "decided to invest as much as thirty thousand dollars in pictures, if he could find the right ones ... Addison had four or five good pictures - a Rousseau, a Greuze, a Wouwerman, and one Lawrence - picked up heaven knows where. A Hotel-man by the name of Collard, a dry-goods and real estate merchant, was said to have a very striking collection. Addison told him of one Davis Trask, a hardware prince, who was now collecting. There were many homes he knew where art was beginning to be assembled. He must begin too." (82)

Logan Pearsall Smith, the brother-in-law of the famous connoisseur Bernard Berenson, indicated very well the role of culture, particularly in bourgeois society, when he wrote in his memoirs that he "became vaguely aware of Culture, not indeed as a thing of value in itself, but as bestowing a kind of distinction superior in some mysterious way to that of the big-game killer", which previously had been his ambition and dream. (83) By this time, Saisselin argues, "the process of assimilating culture to social and class distinction was a fact. It distinguished the bourgeois from the lower classes and from the mere possessor of wealth. In a society tending increasingly towards democracy, class distinction came to be based on aesthetic considerations rather than on ancient lineage; on moral qualities, degrees, or diplomas rather than on money". (84)

Richard Rush, in his wonderfully direct book, *Antiques as an Investment*, in apparent innocence, summarises the interest in the twentieth century in possessing works of art. "The taste for antiques", he states, "is largely on the increase. Formerly the exclusive possession of the

connoisseur of ample means, it has through the influence of public collectors and the literature devoted to them, now extended to a much wider field. No home, however unassuming, having any pretensions to refinement, is nowadays without some indication of its owner's love of beautiful old things ..." (85) The reason for this, he argues, is that, as "advertisements indicate clearly", "unless we have a back-ground of antiques in our homes and/or a collection of paintings, we have not 'arrived'". (86)

In the twentieth century an even more radical system of differentiation has been constructed within the arena of art. While it should have become apparent that an understanding of art and the appropriation of it has in general implied difference and superiority, these values are even more appropriate in the area of "modern" art, where distance even from traditional art connoisseurs and collectors can be achieved. This was appreciated as early as 1925 by the critic Ortega Y Gasset. In his essay, *The Dehumanisation of Art*, he argued that "Modern art ... has the masses against it, and this will always be so since it is unpopular in essence; even more, it is anti-popular". (87) He argued that contemporary art divided the public into those who understood it and those who did not. While, he stated (somewhat questionably), Romantic art had been generally popular, the time was approaching he thought, "when society, from politics to art, will once more organize itself into two orders: that of the distinguished and that of the vulgar". The new art was not intelligible to everyone, it was "not an art for men in general, but for a very particular class of men, who may not be of more worth than the others, but who are apparently distinct". (88) Gasset's points are surely pertinent, although they err in seeing the distinguishing features of art as of recent origin. But the argument that modern art in particular created an even more specific and limited elite of an audience is correct. (89)

It should come as no surprise after this that a survey of museum attendance in France in the 1960s found that only one per cent of visitors were peasants, four per cent workers, and five per cent shopkeepers and artisans, with forty-five per cent coming from the 'upper class'. (90) A similar survey of gallery attendance in terms of socio-economic classification in Scotland, in 1981, found that sixty-eight per cent of all

visitors to the National Gallery were from households headed by members of professional or managerial groups, with seven per cent of visitors from skilled manual workers' households and four per cent from semi-skilled or unskilled manual ones. Regarding the National Gallery of Modern Art (keeping Gasset in mind here), seventy-four per cent of household heads were managerial or professional, twelve per cent skilled manual and only one per cent semi-skilled or unskilled. (91) Zeldin, noting the French proportions, agrees (echoing Gombrich's comments on attitudes three hundred years previously) that "Taste implied contempt; refined taste could not, by definition, be shared by the masses". Exclusiveness has become "an essential feature in the appreciation of art"; no serious attempt has therefore been made "to interest the masses in art, to accompany the compulsory spread of literacy." (92)

Although the lack of aesthetic appreciation and the existence of cultural illiteracy among the lower classes has often been lamented, Zeldin is right in questioning whether this group could ever be allowed, in the prevailing conditions, to achieve such involvement and understanding. As Levine notes of late nineteenth century America: "Despite all of the rhetoric to the contrary, despite all of the laments about the low state of mass culture, there were comforts to be derived from the situation as well. Lift the people out of their cultural milieu, wipe them clean, elevate their tastes, and where in this world of burgeoning democracy was one to locate distinctiveness?" (93)

It should have become clear that works of art have developed a unique capacity to indicate in a direct, visible way the supposed possession of culture and sophistication. They are part of a symbolic class struggle in which they represent concretely the traits which justify social superiority. Further, possession of works of art is necessarily exclusive in a system in which authenticity, originality, and provenance have come to be valued as paramount, since, as the acceptability of reproduction has been denied, the supply of what are seen as acceptable works is limited. Thus the possession of art works (or at least those from within established canons), is clearly distinctive. (94) According to Bourdieu, the "appropriation of symbolic objects with a material existence, such as paintings, raises the distinctive force of ownership to the second power

and reduces purely symbolic appropriation to the inferior status of a symbolic substitute". Appropriation of a work of art asserts oneself as "the exclusive possessor of the object and of the authentic taste for that object, which is thereby converted into the reified negation of all those who are unworthy of possessing it, for lack of the material or symbolic means of doing so ..." Bourdieu continues that, "Of all the conversion techniques designed to create and accumulate symbolic capital, the purchase of works of art, objectified evidence of 'personal taste', is the one which is closest to the most irreproachable and inimitable form of accumulation, that is, the internalization of distinctive signs and symbols of power in the form of natural 'distinction', personal 'authority' or 'culture'." (95)

The connection of all of this with art forgery now has to be explained. Within a culture which expects its élite, whether aristocratic or bourgeois, to exhibit particular manners, and to identify its difference through symbolic structures, especially culture and more specifically art, there will inevitably be much struggling and competition to achieve the outward traits which indicate status and which are required for the retention or achieving of power and wealth. As part of this symbolic universe is the possession and exhibition of particular art works, which through the processes already considered have become exclusive, finite and limited, the ever increasing needs have had to be met through new manufactures since authentic, original works were limited. And in most cases copies could not suffice, since the predominant culture of individuality, uniqueness etc. has explicitly ruled out this alternative. Also, because the whole purpose is one of exclusion, then, necessarily, the possibility of endless reproduction to satisfy the needs of all is not one which could be accepted.

Although he was not referring directly to this interest, Tocqueville's comments on the attitudes of modern, democratic society are illuminating here. "In the confusion of all ranks", he argued, "everyone hopes to appear what he is not, and makes great exertions to succeed in this object". He accepted that this sentiment, "all to the heart of man", did not originate out of the democratic principle. That principle, however, he argued, applied it to material objects. "To satisfy these new cravings of human vanity", he stated, "the arts have recourse to every

species of imposture ... Imitation-diamonds are now made which may be easily mistaken for real ones; as soon as the art of fabricating false diamonds shall have reached so high a degree of perfection that they cannot be distinguished from real ones, it is probable that both one and the other will be abandoned, and become mere pebbles again." (96)

Many collectors, involved in their activity primarily for reasons of social distinction, have lacked any real understanding or interest in their purchases; they have been blind followers of fashion, of a taste established by a minority of others. With these attitudes and expectations it could be anticipated that a falseness, a superficial involvement, with art and collecting would readily occur. Thus Tocqueville noted that the number of consumers of the fine arts in modern society had increased, "but opulent and fastidious consumers become more scarce". (97) Comments on the lack of discrimination and superficiality of many 'art lovers' are commonplace. Haskell, for example, notes that the vast majority of private collectors in seventeenth century Rome were "content to follow the fashion set by the court". (98) In Flanders in the seventeenth century, Filipczak states, while some Antwerp collectors were genuinely enthusiastic about paintings, others were "at least partially motivated in their patronage by the stimulus of social ambition." (99) And it was the view of L S Mercier, writing in 1783, that the inhabitants of Paris cultivated "tastes and fancies rather than a real and constant love for the arts and sciences". (100)

A similar lack of discrimination was apparent to an observer of English social scene, who, in 1736, derided "the particularity of Names, which some seem extremely fond of, or are greatly affected with, so as often to mind the Name even more than the true Merit of the Performance. 'Tis true indeed, that such who pretend to make Collections, or Galleries of all the Particular Genius's or Masters, may indeed have more especial Regard to this ..." (101) Real involvement and thoughtful appreciation seems to have been limited. The true nature of the interest of the fashionable gentleman was revealed by Reynolds in the late eighteenth century in his account of a visit to view the Raphael Cartoons at Hampton Court. His companion was

just returned from Italy, a Connoisseur, of course, and of course his mouth full of nothing but the Grace of Raffaele, the Purity of Domenichino, the Learning of Poussin, the Air of Guido, the greatness of Taste of the Caraccis, the Sublimity and grand Contorto of Michelangelo; and all the cant of Criticism, which he emitted with that volubility which generally those orators have, who annex no ideas to their words. (102)

Similarly, Pye observed of eighteenth century art auctions ("the resort and rendezvous of both sexes of the world of fashion"), that works which were not sanctioned by authority of a dealer, "though they had been the most perfect works of Raphael, would not ... have produced five shillings; whilst a damaged and repaired old canvass, sanctioned by their praise, found a purchaser, and a place in a noble's collection, at almost any price." The expansion of this trade, he continued, and "the subtlety practiced to render fashion its dupe, became so much matter of general notoriety among the reasoning and reflective ..." (103) Redford (1888) likewise has shown the superficial nature of the art world of that time. In his discussion of the eighteenth century entrepreneur, Edward Millington, he stated:

When the London season was over and the fashionables flitted for their spring to Tunbridge Wells ... Millington carried his pictures and curios there, as he says in his catalogue, "for the diversion of gentlemen and ladies". And no doubt these were fine times for the copyists and forgers of their "rare old masters" which it was then becoming the correct thing for people to talk about, however little they knew of the history or the art of the great masters whose names they bandied about with much pretence. (104)

Buchanan also contributed to the discussion. Regarding the artistic fashions in Britain at the start of the nineteenth century, he observed, "It must ... be taken into consideration that Vanity principally prompts the English to buy - and that Vanity leads purchasers to please the prevailing taste of fashion ..." (105)

Matters were the same in the United States. After the Civil War there, when a rapid expansion of industry and commerce had led to an increase in wealth, awareness of the importance of the arts, Constable states, "extended among the well-to-do, sometimes as a result of genuine understanding and feeling, more often because the arts could be a potent means of demonstrating wealth and social position". (106) Most collectors

"collected 'Old Masters' because they were the thing to collect". (107) According to the Rigbys, these new collectors were ruthlessly acquisitive, and even at their best they were accused of being "people of enormous wealth and little taste who accumulate masterpieces of art without appreciating them". (108) To a great extent they relied on the views of pundits, dealers and "experts" to guide their collecting practices. As we have already seen, many of these collections consisted of extremely dubious items. This was hardly surprising. It followed, the Rigbys argue, that "without a sound foundation in connoisseurship the newcomers fell easy prey to fakers and charlatans, who organised wholesale manufacture of masterpieces and antiques for their benefit". (109)

Similarly, Zeldin tells us, the French department store entrepreneur Cognacq-Jay apparently bought his pictures "without any particular love of art", with painters who wished to sell him their works normally being told to deal with an assistant specially employed for the purpose. (110) Those who did not employ others to help them in their collecting, or to purchase for them, depended on 'guide-books' to direct their taste and actions. These guides, however, were not always particularly realistic in their advice. Thus, those who accepted C J Holmes' conclusion in his *Pictures and Picture Collecting*, of 1903, that a collection should start off with containing a Leonardo, a Titian - to give the collection "distinction" - and works by Mantegna, Filippo Lippi, and Bellini, were merely inviting disaster. (111) (Rush reports a conversation with one New York art dealer who was regularly asked if he had any pictures by Leonardo for sale.) (112)

In such circumstances, it is easy to see how many collectors could, indeed deserved, to fall prey to forgeries. In their paramount attempts to distinguish themselves, they transparently lacked the means and ability to distinguish among the works of art offered to them. The forgers bear only part of the responsibility. They have to a great extent merely responded to the speculation, greed, arrogance and elitism of the so-called art lover. As an anonymous writer in *an issue of Chamber's Edinburgh Journal* in 1845 noted, regarding "the irrational and artificial media through which pictures are prized and estimated":

While we are disposed ... to censure dealers for the frauds they practice, let us not forget the vast temptations ignorant and prejudiced purchasers hold out to them by the enormous prices they offer for supposed

'originals'. Purchasers are in most instances parties to the frauds they themselves suffer by. (113)

The conclusion which has to be drawn from this whole study is that the occurrence of art forgery is part of a much more involved social complex than has normally been allowed. It is not just a straightforward secondary activity, not merely the negative side of art production and collecting, which does not need significant analysis. Rather, it has been shown that forgery is an essential and direct part of attempts to achieve differentiation and distinction in the modern world. It is a natural consequence of a particular social structure and its ideologies. Any consideration of art forgery in the abstract, such as done by aestheticians, is bound to be largely sterile. Similarly, to consider the issues in isolation, as tends to be the case for example with those practitioners involved with counteracting forgery, will inevitably lead to only limited success at best.

A society which is in many of its conditions essentially false can only expect to engender false images. Roland Barthes summed up in his last book, *Camera Lucida*, the nature of the society in which we find forgery as an integrated part. "What characterizes the so-called advanced societies", he argued, is that

they consume images and no longer, like those of the past, beliefs; they are therefore more liberal, less fanatical, but also more "false" (less authentic). (114)

---0---

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. P Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1984, p. 6.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

3. Quoted in N Garnham and R Williams, "Pierre Bourdieu and the Sociology of Culture: an Introduction", *Media, Culture and Society*, 1980, 3, p.216.
 4. Garnham and Williams, *ibid.*, p.217.
 5. M P Gilmore, *The World of Humanism*, Harper & Row, New York, 1962, p.66.
 6. *Ibid.*, p.64.
 7. *Ibid.*, p.70.
 8. F Braudel, *Civilisation and Capitalism 15th-18th Century: Vol.II - The Wheels of Commerce*, Collins, London, 1982, p.478. See also H Kamen, *The Iron Century: Social Change in Europe 1550-1660*, Cardinal, London, 1976, chapters 4 and 5; and D Bitton, *The French Nobility in Crisis, 1560-1640*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1969.
 9. N Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* (1939), Blackwell, Oxford, 1978, pp.79-80.
 10. A de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Saunders and Otley, London, 1840, vol.4, p.13.
 11. *Ibid.*, pp.13-14.
 12. I Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the arts in England, 1680-1768*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, p.3.
- Pears accepts that such issues were not new; indeed, he acknowledges that "the cause of concern was well enough established to be almost traditional", with complaints against 'new men' being common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He argues, however, that the form and expression of the concern was different in the eighteenth century.
13. L Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy*, Allen Lane, London, 1980, pp.262-63.
 14. A von Martin, *Sociology of the Renaissance* (1932), Harper & Row, New York, 1963, p.27.
 15. Quoted in Gilmore, *op. cit.*, p.70.
 16. Martines, *op. cit.*, p.294.
 17. *Ibid.*, p.300.
 18. *Ibid.*, p.294.
 19. Von Martin, *op. cit.*, p.34.
 20. *Ibid.*, p.36.

21. L Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965, p.672.
22. *Ibid.*, p.673.
23. E Dudley, *The Tree of Commonwealth* (c.1510), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1948, p.45.

Dudley was clearly aware of the aspirations of the lower orders and the potential for social upheaval in the society for which he wrote; it was his concern that this should be avoided, through the reinforcement of the traditional hierarchy. It is in this context that he argued that the nobility should change its outlook so as to ensure its continued rule. He explicitly chided the "good commyners" not to fall prey to the blandishments of the messenger Arrogancy, whose "very nature and propertie is to entise you to ennable your selves to such thinges as nothing besemeth you to do, suche thinges as you nothing can skill on. He will shew you yt ye be made of the same metell and mold yt the gentiles be made of." In Dudley's view, however, the "good comyners" should instead "be contentyd with the fruite of tranquillitie", and were to "Grudge not agenst your superiors for doing your dewtie: covet not the prosperite of Chyvalrie, nor muse not theron: disdain not the greate power of your souuereigne, but with a dew reuerence obey yt ..." (pp.90-91) The conditions of the 'Great Chain of Being' were not to be disturbed. It is clear, however, that Dudley was fighting against the tide in these arguments.

24. Quoted in Stone, *op. cit.*, p.672.
25. J H Hexter, "The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance", in his *Reappraisals in History*, Longmans, London, 1962, pp.46-47.
26. Quoted in D Bitton, *op. cit.*, p.50.
27. Stone, *op. cit.*, p.67.
28. M Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social, and Architectural History*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1978, p.180.
29. Pears, *op. cit.*, p.36.
30. *Ibid.*, p.35.

Pears argues that "Taste was the product of education in its widest sense; as the author of *A Discourse concerning the Propriety of Manners, Taste and Beauty* [1751], put it: 'Propriety and delicacy of Taste is merely the effect of Culture ... An extensive knowledge of the beautiful is only acquirewd by a polite and virtuous Education ...' This, in turn, was equally seen by many as the qualification for ruling..." (pp.35-36)

31. The scorn for such pursuits, which were seen as lacking in wisdom and culture, was made quite apparent in the journal entry of 1650 of Oudard Coquault, a rich, bourgeois merchant of Reims:

"This is the state, life and condition of those gentlemen who say they are of high birth; and a great many of the nobility live hardly any better and are good only for berating and devouring the peasant in their village. There is no comparison; the honourable bourgeois of the towns and the good merchants are more noble than them all; for they are more gentlemanly, live better lives and set better examples, their family and household are better conducted; each according to his power does not cause anyone to murmur, pays every man who works for him, and above all would never commit an act of cowardice; and the majority of these little sword-bearers do the opposite. If there is ever a question of comparison, they consider themselves everything and think that the bourgeois should look at them through the same eyes as the peasant ... No man of honour has any regard for them. This is the present state of the world, and one should not expect to find virtue among the nobility." (Quoted in Braudel, *op. cit.*, p.485)

32. Elias, *op. cit.*, p.80.

33. *Ibid.*, p.79.

Elias notes that, "Erasmus's treatise comes at a time of social regrouping. It is the expression of the fruitful transitional period after the loosening of the medieval social hierarchy and before the stabilizing of the modern one. It belongs to the phase in which the old, feudal knights' nobility was still in decline, while the new aristocracy ... was still in the process of formation." (p.73)

34. P Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Temple Smith, London, 1978, pp.270.

35. Quoted in E P Thompson, "Patrician Society, Plebian Culture", *Journal of Social History*, 1973-74, p.395.

36. Pears, *op. cit.*, p.25.

37. Burke, *op. cit.*, p.271.

38. *Ibid.*, pp.275-77.

39. J Rosenberg, S Slive and E H ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture, 1600-1800*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1977, p.18.

40. *Ibid.*

41. J L Price, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic During the Seventeenth Century*, Batsford, London, 1974, p.221.

42. M Moriarty, *Taste and Ideology in Seventeenth Century France*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, p.189.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 191-92.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
45. D Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-Century France*, Batsford, London, 1970, p. 48.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
47. N Elias, *The Court Society*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1983, pp. 62-63.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Maland similarly argues that *préciosité* "was the attempt to be different for its own sake, a form of artificial refinement and of ostentation which was deliberately cultivated at the Hôtel de Rambouillet ... it was nothing more or less than the attempt to distinguish oneself from others by a show of refinement". (p.56)

49. Quoted in Elias, *The Court Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
50. Moriarty, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
52. Elias, *The Court Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
53. Quoted in Elias, *ibid.*, p. 65.
54. Elias argues that "The forms of life and the possibilities of experience which the *ancien régime* harboured in its court and court society are ... inaccessible to most members of industrial society. ... Nevertheless, many of the forms that the court society of those centuries imparted to people and their environment, whether it be furniture, pictures or clothes, forms of greeting or social etiquette, theatre, poetry or houses, live on in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries." (*The Court Society*, p. 113)
55. G Pelles, "The Image of the Artist", *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 1962, p. 120.
56. This is not, of course, to say that paintings and other art works did not continue also to operate in other, more traditional, ideological dimensions, as carriers of specific social meaning and argument. However, such immediate functioning was comparatively transient in the case of most works; the new significance of art works also as individual but abstract examples of a general cultural symbolism opened up to them a new longevity and continuing purpose in the social and ideological conflict. In this capacity, as we have seen, a wider and wider range of objects from quite varying cultures and periods were made available for appropriation in a way which could not have occurred when their functions as carriers of direct meaning remained dominant.

57. Bourdieu, *op. cit.*, p.4.

"The pure gaze", Bourdieu argues, "implies a break with the ordinary attitude towards the world, which, given the conditions in which it is performed, is also a social separation". (p.4)

Mukařovský similarly argued, in 1936, that "Due to its isolating properties, the aesthetic function can ... become a socially differentiating factor; cp. the greater sensitivity towards the aesthetic function, and its more intensive utilisation, in the higher levels of society which attempt to distinguish themselves from the other social levels (the aesthetic function as a factor in "prestige"), or the deliberate use of the aesthetic function to stress the importance of people in power, as well as to separate them from the rest of the collective". (J Mukařovský, *Aesthetic Function, Norm and Value as Social Facts* (first published in Czech in 1936), University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1970, pp.21-22)

58. Quoted in F Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, Phaidon, Oxford, 1980, p.95.

59. S J Freedberg, "Observations on the Painting of the Maniera", *Art Bulletin*, XLVII, 1965, p.194.

Bourdieu argues that "The naive exhibitionism of 'conspicuous consumption', which seeks distinction in the crude display of ill-mannered luxury, is nothing compared to the unique capacity of the pure gaze, a quasi-creative power which sets the aesthete apart from the common herd by a radical difference which seems to be inscribed in 'persons'." (*op. cit.*, p.31)

60. P Burke, *Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy*, Fontana, Glasgow, 1974, p.334.

61. A similar world-view also operated within the field of literature. Thus, Spencer stated of his greatest work, 'The Faery Queen', that its aim was "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline". This, Schücking observes, could naturally only be done "within forms that are in harmony with the other ideas of that group - a group that strives to distinguish itself from the common herd in language, style, clothing, bearing, and behaviour; a group, moreover, whose taste, in accordance with its whole training, seeks association with the antiquity of which the common people have no comprehension, strives after difficult and artificial forms, is esoteric, abominates realism, despises simplicity, and goes in search of humanism and culture". (L L Schücking, *The Sociology of Literary Taste*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, 1944, pp.11-12)

62. E H Gombrich, "Visual Metaphors of Value in Art", in his *Meditations on a Hobby Horse*, Phaidon, London, 1963, pp.17-18.

This contrast was not merely metaphorical. Rather, Gombrich argues, it was really believed that "certain forms or modes are 'really'

vulgar, because they please the low, while others are inherently noble, because only a developed taste can appreciate them."

63. G Bazin, *The Museum Age*, Desoer, Brussels, 1967, p.57.
64. P Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy - Essays on Perception and Communication*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987, pp.134-35.
65. Quoted in W E Houghton, "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3, 1942, p.63.

According to Houghton, the increase in wealth and leisure in the seventeenth century was most important, and that, in England, "without the enclosures and the destruction of the monasteries, American gold and silver, monopolies and joint stock companies, the virtuoso could not have existed." (p.62)
66. N von Holst, *Creators, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1967, p.164.
67. Quoted in Pears, *op. cit.*, p.128.

Bourdieu notes that, "Because the appropriation of cultural products presupposes dispositions and competences which are not distributed universally ... these products are subject to exclusive appropriation, material or symbolic, and, functioning as cultural capital (objectified or internalized), they yield a profit in distinction, proportionate to the rarity of the means required to appropriate them, and a profit in legitimacy, the profit par excellence, which consists in the fact of feeling justified in being (what one is), being what it is right to be." (*op. cit.*, p.228)
68. H Trevor-Roper, *The Plunder of the Arts in the Seventeenth Century*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1970, p.9.
69. Z Z Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987, pp.54-55.
70. Girouard, *op. cit.*, p.173.
71. J Richardson, "The Science of a Connoisseur", in *Two Discourses* (1719), quoted in Pears, *op. cit.*, pp.193-94.
72. J Steegman, *The Rule of Taste - From George I to George IV*, Macmillan, London, 1936, p.108.

In England, at least, going on the 'Grand Tour' of the Continent, and especially Italy, was very important in the development of the necessary upper-class cultural skills. According to Dean Tucker in his *Instructions for Travellers* of 1757, "Persons who propose to themselves a Scheme for Travelling generally do it with a view to obtain one or more of the following Ends; viz. First to make Curious Collections, as Natural Philosophers, Virtuosos or Antiquarians.

Secondly to improve in Painting, Statuary, Architecture and Music. Thirdly to obtain the reputation of being Men of Vertu and of an elegant Taste". (quoted in B Denvir, *The Eighteenth Century: Art, Design and Society, 1689-1789*, Longman, London, 198 , pp.8-9)

73. Maland, *op. cit.*, p.161.
74. Price, *op. cit.*, p.130.
75. F Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study of the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1980, pp.247-48 and p.262.
76. F Haskell, "An Italian Patron of French Neo-Classical Art", in his *Past and Present in Art and Taste - Selected Essays*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1987, p.47.
77. *Ibid.*, p.57
78. Said by John Horsley; quoted by D S Macleod, in "Art Collecting and Victorian Middle-Class Taste", *Art History*, vol 10, no 3, Sept 1987, p.333.
79. T Zeldin, *France 1848-1945: Taste and Corruption*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1980, p.111.
80. *Ibid.*

These collecting activities of the French middle class were only part of its scheme of differentiation and control. Saisselin argues that, in addition to art playing "a distinguishing role for a ruling class whose individual members had often only recently arrived": "The entire educational system of the French bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century was founded on the necessity of creating a level of distinction that would be an effective barrier to the lower orders: hence the baccalaureate degree, the achievement of which required non-utilitarian Latin, the right table manners, the right gloves, the right linguistic usage, the proper dress, quite distinct from the dress and manners of the working class ..." (R Saisselin, *Bricabracomania - The Bourgeois and the Bibelot*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1985, p.3)

81. D Rigby and E Rigby, *Lock, Stock and Barrel - The Study of Collecting*, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1944, p.278.
82. Quoted in Saisselin, *op. cit.*, pp.80-82.
83. *Unforgotten Years*, Boston, 1939, p.82; quoted in Saisselin, *ibid.*, p.138.
84. Saisselin, *op. cit.*, p.139.
85. R R Rush, *Antiques as an Investment*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1968, p.21.

86. *Ibid.*, p.519.
87. O Y Gasset, "The Dehumanisation of Art", in his *Velazquez, Goya, the Dehumanisation of Art and Other Essays*, Studio Vista, London, 1972, p.66.
88. *Ibid.*, p.67.
89. Bourdieu argues that "An art which, like all Post-Impressionist painting, for example, is the product of an artistic intention which asserts the *absolute primacy of form over function*, of the mode of representation over the object represented, *categorically* demands a purely aesthetic disposition which earlier art demanded only conditionally." (p.30)
90. Zeldin, *op. cit.*, p.99 - derived from P Bourdieu and A Darbel, *L'Amour de l'art. Les musée d'art européens et leur public*, 1969.

Bourdieu has also argued that in art museums the aesthetic disposition has become an institution. He states that "Nothing more totally manifests and achieves the autonomizing of aesthetic activity vis-à-vis extra-aesthetic interests or functions than the art museum's juxtaposition of works. Though originally subordinated to quite different or even incompatible functions ... these juxtaposed works tacitly demand attention to form rather than function, technique rather than theme ..." (*Distinction, op. cit.*, p.30)
91. R Grant, *A Survey of Visitors to the Scottish National Museums and Galleries*, Central Research Unit, Scottish development Department, Edinburgh, 1981, p.8.
92. Zeldin, *op. cit.*, p.99.
93. L W Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow - The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1988, p.227.
94. Through fashion, the interests of the most influential of the élite, and the opinions of the professional critics, a canon of prescribed artists and art works came to be constructed. The reasons why some rather than others were included at differing moments is not a question which can be answered here. The immediate point is that generally, once the importance of appreciating and collecting art had been established, at any time there existed a taste for the works of particular artists or period, which any ambitious man had to identify with. His awareness of the relevant art, and if possible his possession of it, both indicated and confirmed his social distinction.
95. Bourdieu, *op. cit.*, pp.280 and 282.
96. Toqueville, *op. cit.*, vol 3, pp. 99-100.
97. *Ibid.*, p.101.
98. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters, op. cit.*, p.94.

99. Filipczak, *op. cit.*, pp.54-55.

100. Bazin, *The Museum Age*, *op. cit.*, p.158.

Similarly, Goethe stated of the historian Beireis: "his real passion shone through as he showed us his collection of pictures - his latest craze, into which he had thrown himself without the slightest knowledge. It was almost inconceivable how much he managed to deceive himself over these pictures, or sought to deceive us." (Quoted in T Württenberger, *Das Kunstfälschertum*, Böhlau, Weimar, 1940, p.97)

101. In "A Letter on the Nature and State of Curiosity as at present with us" (London, 1763) - quoted in Pears, *op. cit.*, p.164.

102. J R Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, Arrow, London, 1963, pp.75-76.

103. J Pye, *Patronage of British Art*, London, 1845, pp. 67-68.

104. G Redford, *Art Sales - A History of Sales of Pictures and Other Works of Art*, 2 vols. (issued only to subscribers), London, 1888, vol.2, p.xv.

105. H Brigstocke, *William Buchanan and the Nineteenth Century Art Trade*, published privately by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1982, pp.5-6.

106. W G Constable, *Art Collecting in the United States of America*, Nelson, London, 1964, p.40.

107. *Ibid.*, p.43.

108. Rigby and Rigby, *op. cit.*, p.281.

For example, J P Morgan's passion for collecting "became eventually a sort of impersonalized assertion of power" (p.285), and William Randolph Hearst "succumbed to every one of the pitfalls which may so easily engulf the wealthy would-be connoisseur - personal ambition, lack of discrimination, ostentation, and emphasis on the symbolic values of mere size and quantity. Moneyed American collectors have often, in one way or another, given evidence of one or more of these faults, but the concentration Hearst represents is the nux vomica of bad collecting on a grand scale". (p.286)

The crassness of modern art 'appreciation' is immediately shown by Rush's serious statement that one important quality of works by Modigliani is that they are "almost instantly recognisable", and that a reason for their popularity is that "when a Modigliani hangs on a wall it advertises itself, and many of the viewers can recognise it." Similarly, "Rouault is instantly recognisable to even the less experienced eye, and this quality alone adds to his importance and to his value. There is no need to explain to the art-loving viewer that what one has hanging on the wall is a Rouault. It speaks for itself." (R H Rush, *Art as an Investment*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs,

1961, pp.61 and 63) It should come as no surprise in the light of this 'awareness' that Modigliani is one of the most forged of all twentieth century artists.

109. Rigby and Rigby, *op. cit.*, p.281.

110. Zeldin, *op. cit.*, p.111.

111. F Hermann, *The English as Collectors*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1972, p.19.

112. Rush, *op. cit.*, p.216.

113. *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal*, vol 3, June 21, 1845, p.392.

114. R Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, Flamingo, London, 1984, pp.118-19.

ANNEX

ANNEX

ART FORGERY IN CHINA

In fifth century China, we find one of the earliest documents directly concerned with faked works of art in that country. Yu He, who cared for the Imperial collection of the Lui Song dynasty, noted in a memorial that:

Marquis Hui of Xin yu always loved [calligraphy]. He offered rewards and summoned people in order to buy [from them], taking no account of the price. But base fellows carefully made copies and imitations: they changed the color of the paper by soaking it in the dirty water which drips from thatched roofs, and made it at the same time worn and stained, so that it looked like the [paper of] ancient writings. Genuine works and fakes were mingled, and nobody could distinguish between them ... Emperor Xiao Wu also collected excellent calligraphy. Gentlemen of the capital and provinces often presented [examples] to him; genuine and fake were mixed together in confusion." (1)

Alsop notes an "advance of faking in the Tang dynasty" (618-906), illustrated by the activities of one Zheng Yizhi, who persuaded the Empress Wu, widow of the Emperor Tang Gao Zong, of the need for the careful conservation of the imperial collection. After this was confided to his care, he removed the originals and replaced them with fakes in the old mounts. According to Alsop, "the history of Chinese collecting bristles with other feats of the same nature, though not on the same scale". (2)

The development of faking in China was further encouraged by the practice which originated in the Tang dynasty of adding to important works of calligraphy and painting the seals of their collectors and inscriptions of expert opinion or appreciation. Although the original intent of so doing was to forestall faking, ironically the opposite was the result, with these additions taking on a significance as great as the works themselves, so that frequent sources of deception were the faking of such seals to add spurious authenticity to forgeries, and the removal of old colophons from genuine works and their subsequent addition to fakes as apparent guarantees of their worth. (3)

Mi Fei (Fu) (1051-1107), the Chinese artist and connoisseur, was very

critical of the use of these seals and of the limited awareness of some collectors. In his *Hua Shih* (History of Painting), he says that although the pieces in the collection of Shih Yang-hsiu, were stamped with the seal of 'five dukes in four generations', none of them were any good, and that in the collection of Shao Pi, whilst his seals mostly contain beautiful scripts, "Anything that slightly resembles Kiang-nan (style of Hsü Hsi) is labelled 'Hsü Hsi'. Any Szechuan picture of star gods is labelled Yen Li-pen or Wang Wei or Han Huang. It is simply ridiculous." Later he comments that as well as the many pictures in the Szechuan school ascribed to Wang Wei, many snow scenes-done in the Kiangnan style are attributed to him; indeed, "Any picture with delicate lines is labelled Wang Wei" with "innumerable pieces in noble homes" ascribed to this artist - but "There cannot be that many", he concluded. Of the works of Li Ch'eng Mi Fei commented that of genuine examples he had seen two, but of forgeries 300; similarly he professed to having seen the same number of forged works by Master Wu (4) and noted that "People nowadays call a picture a Wu Tao-tse whenever they see a Buddha, for they have never seen a genuine one". (5)

He also recited how he once bought a very graceful landscape signed by Li Sheng of Szechuan, which he then exchanged for an ancient calligraphy. However, the new owner scraped off the original signature and replaced it with the name of 'Li Sze-hsün', and then passed it on to another collector, this causing Mi Fei to lament "How sad the way forged things are so easily passed off for genuine!". (6)

Mi Fu himself however does not appear to have been the most scrupulous of connoisseurs. According to Chao Hsi-ku in the early thirteenth century, he often took advantage of his pre-eminent position as an expert by substituting exact copies for important masterpieces which had been brought to him for authentication. (7)

Among the professional Chinese forgers whose names have been recorded are included Chai Hsing-tsu (c.1160) and Huang T-shih-pa (c.1165-69) who are mentioned in the *Hua-shan-shui Chüeh* of Li Ch'en-sou of 1211, and Ch'en Lin, *tzu* Chung-mei (late 13th century) who appears in the *Ku-chin Hua-chien* of T'ang Hou. (8) According to Fen Wong in the South, especially in Su-chou, "there seem to have been families of professionals who for generations turned forgery-making into a specialised art". (9) One of these was the Ch'in family of Chuan-chu-hsiang in Su-chou in which

according to Ch'ien Yung (1759-1844) "father and sons all excelled in making forgeries of calligraphy and paintings", to the extent that "In recent years, most of the so-called Sung and Yüan paintings ... have all come from their hands". (10)

By the early seventeenth century problems of authenticity seem to have become critical. According to Wang Yüan-ch'i (1642-1715) in his *Yü-ch'uang Man-pi*:

Painting by the end of the Ming had fallen into evil ways. The most corrupt school was that of Chekiang; but even in Wu-men and Yün-chien the works of great masters like Wen [Cheng-ming] and Shen [Chou], and those of a creator of orthodoxy like Tung [Ch'i-ch'ang] were all confused and muddled by counterfeits. Falsehoods begot falsehoods, until fraud had spread everywhere. (11)

—O—

REFERENCES

1. Quoted in J W Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1982, p. 157.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Wen Fong, "The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting", *Artibus Asiae*, 25, no. 2/3, 1962, p. 96.
5. Quoted in Lin Yutang, *The Chinese Theory of Art - Translations from the Masters of Chinese Art*, Heinemann, London, 1967, pp. 99-101.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
7. Wen Fong, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Quoted in Wen Fong, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ADES, D, "Reviewing Art History", in A L REES and F BORZELLO (eds), *The New Art History*, Camden Press, London, 1986.
- ADORNO, T W, *Prisms*, Spearman, London, 1967.
- ADORNO, T W, *Aesthetic Theory*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1984.
- ALDRED, C, *Art in Ancient Egypt - The Old Kingdom*, Tiranti, London, 1968.
- ALDRED, C, *Egyptian Art*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1980.
- ALPERS, S, *The Art of Describing - Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1983.
- ALPERS, S, *Rembrandt's Enterprise - The Studio and the Market*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1988.
- ALSOP, J W, *The Rare Art Traditions*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1982.
- AMES-LEWIS, F, *Drawings in Early Renaissance Italy*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981.
- ANDERSON, P, *Passages From Antiquity to Feudalism*, New Left Books, London, 1974.
- ANDERSON, P, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, New Left Books, London, 1977.
- ANTAL, F, *Florentine Painting and its Social Background*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1948.
- ANTAL, F, "Remarks on the Method of Art History", in ANTAL, *Classicism and Romanticism with Other Studies in Art History*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1966.
- ARNAU, F, *Three Thousand Years of Deception in Art and Antiques*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1961.
- ARVON, H, *Marxist Esthetics*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1973.
- AVINERI, S, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1968.
- BABRIUS and PHAEDRUS, (ed. and trans. by B E Perry), Heinemann, London 1965.
- BARSTOW, N, "The Romance of Art - The Forgeries of Bastianini", *The Magazine of Art*, V, 9, 1886.
- BARTHES, R, *Camera Lucida*, Flamingo, London, 1984.

- BAUTIER, R-H, *The Economic Development of Medieval Europe*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1971.
- BAXANDALL, M, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1972.
- BAZIN, G, *The Museum Age*, Desoer, Brussels, 1967.
- BAZIN, G, *The Louvre*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1979.
- BEARER, A, "Remarkable Copies and Copyists", *The Magazine of Art*, IV, 1881.
- BELL, C, *Art*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1924.
- BELL, Q, "Conformity and Nonconformity in the Fine Arts", in S M LIPSET and L LOWENTHAL (eds.), *Culture and Social Character - The Work of David Reisman Reviewed*, Free Press, New York, 1961.
- BENJAMIN, W, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction", in BENJAMIN, *Illuminations*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1970.
- BERGER, J, *Ways of Seeing*, BBC/Penguin, London and Harmondsworth, 1972.
- BERGER, J, "Art and Property Now", in BERGER, *The Moment of Cubism and Other Essays*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1969.
- BITTON, D, *The French Nobility in Crisis, 1560-1640*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1969.
- BLUNT, A, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600* (1940), Oxford University Press, London, 1962.
- BLUNT, A, "Poussin Studies XIII: Early Falsifications of Poussin", *Burlington Magazine*, CIV, Nov. 1962.
- BLUNT, A, "Jaques Stella, the de Masso family and falsifications of Poussin", *Burlington Magazine*, 116, 1974.
- BOARDMAN, J, *Greek Art*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1973.
- BOAS, G, "The Mona Lisa in the History of Taste", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 1, 1940.
- BORRELLI, L V, "History of Falsification", *Encyclopedia of World Art*, McGraw-Hill, London, 1961.
- BOURDIEU, P, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1984.
- BRANDI, C, "The Nature of Falsification", in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, McGraw-Hill, London, 1961.
- BRAUDEL, F, *Civilisation and Capitalism 15th-18th Century: Vol. II - The Wheels of Commerce*, Collins, London, 1982.

- BREDIUS, A, "A New Vermeer", *Burlington Magazine*, November 1937.
- BRIGSTOCKE, H, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade: 100 Letters to his Agents in London and Italy*, published privately by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1982.
- BRITISH MUSEUM, *Forgeries and Deceptive Copies* (exhibition catalogue), London, 1961.
- BRUNIUS, T, *Alexis de Tocqueville: The Sociological Aesthetician*, Uppsala, 1960.
- BRUNIUS, T, *Theory and Taste*, Uppsala, 1969.
- BURCKHARDT, J, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), Phaidon, London, 1955.
- BURFORD, A, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1972.
- BURKE, P, *The Renaissance*, Longman, London, 1964.
- BURKE, P, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past*, Edward Arnold, London, 1969.
- BURKE, P, *Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy*, Fontana, London and Glasgow, 1974.
- BURKE, P, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Temple Smith, London, 1978.
- BURKE, P, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy - Essays on Perception and Communication*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987.
- BUXTON, J, *Elizabethan Taste*, Macmillan, London, 1963.
- CAHN, W, *Masterpieces*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1979.
- CENNINI, C, *A Treatise on Painting* (1437?), translated by M Merrifield, Lumley, London, 1844.
- CHAMBERS, D S, *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance*, Macmillan, London, 1970.
- CHAMBERS, F P, *The History of Taste*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1932.
- CHAMBER'S EDINBURGH JOURNAL, vol.III, June 21, 1845.
- CHAMOUX, F, "Greek Art from the Sixth to the Fourth Centuries", in HUYGHE, R (ed), *Larousse Encyclopedia of Prehistoric and Ancient Art*, Paul Hamlyn, London, 1962.
- CLARKE, M, and PENNY, N (eds), *The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1982.

- COHEN, G A, *Karl Marx's Theory of History*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978.
- COLE, B, *The Renaissance Artist at Work*, John Murray, London, 1983.
- CONISBEE, P, *Painting in Eighteenth-Century France*, Phaidon, Oxford, 1981.
- CONSTABLE, W G, *Forgers and Forgeries*, Beaverbrook Newspapers, London, 1957.
- CONSTABLE, W G, *Art Collecting in the United States of America*, Nelson, London and Edinburgh, 1964.
- COREMANS, P B, *Van Meegeren's Faked Vermeers and De Hooghs - A Scientific Examination*, Cassell, London, 1949.
- DARCY, C P, *The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Lancashire 1760-1860*, Chetham Society, Manchester, 1976.
- DENVIR, B, *The Eighteenth Century: Art, Design and Society, 1689-1789*, Longman, London, 1984.
- DICKIE, G, *Art and the Aesthetic - An Institutional Analysis*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1974.
- DOBB, M, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (1946), Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1975.
- DONSON, T B, *Prints and the Print Market*, Cromwell, New York, 1977.
- DOUGLAS, M, "High Culture and Low", *Times Literary Supplement*, Feb. 13, 1981.
- DRACHLER, L M (ed), *Forgery in Art and the Law*, Federal Legal Publishers, New York, 1956.
- DUDLEY, E, *The Tree of Commonwealth* (c.1510), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1948.
- DUTTON, D (ed.), *The Forger's Art - Forgery and the Philosophy of Art*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1983.
- DUVIGNAUD, J, *The Sociology of Art*, Paladin, London, 1972.
- EASTLAKE, C L, *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts - With a Memoir compiled by Lady Eastlake*, John Murray, London, 1870,
- EDELMAN, B, *Ownership of the Image*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1979.
- ELIAS, N, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* (1939), Blackwell, Oxford, 1978.
- ELIAS, N, *The Court Society*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1983.

- ELLWOOD, G M, and BRAUN, A A, "Italian Frames of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *Connoisseur*, vol.LXXXIII, 1929.
- ENGGASS, R, and BROWN, J, *Italy and Spain 1600-1750 - Sources and Documents*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1970.
- FAWCETT, T, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974.
- FERGUSON, W K (ed.), *The Renaissance: Six Essays*, Harper & Row, New York, 1962.
- FERRARRI, O, "Reproductions - the modern period", in *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, McGraw-Hill, London, 1961.
- FIELDING, T H, *The Knowledge and Restoration of Old Paintings: The Modes of Judging Between Copies and Originals, etc.*, Ackermann, London, 1847.
- FILIPCZAK, Z Z, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987.
- FLEMING, S J, *Authenticity in Art*, Institute of Physics, London, 1975.
- FONG, W, "The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting", *Artibus Asiae*, 25, no.2/3, 1962.
- FRANCASTEL, G, "Giorgione, Titian, and the Commercialization of the Work of Art" (1960); extract in P BURKE, *The Renaissance*, Longman, London, 1964.
- FREEDBERG, S J, "Observations on the Painting of the Maniera", *Art Bulletin*, xlvii, 1965.
- FRIEDLÄNDER, M J, *Genuine and Counterfeit*, Boni, New York, 1930.
- FRIEDLÄNDER, M J, *On Art and Connoisseurship*, Cassirer, London, 1942.
- FROMM, E, *The Fear of Freedom* (1942), Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1960.
- FROMM, E, *The Sane Society*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963.
- FULLER, P, "Forgeries", in *Art Monthly*, Oct. 1976, no 1.
- FULLER, P, *Beyond the Crisis in Art*, Writers and Readers, London, 1980.
- GARNHAM, N and WILLIAMS, R, "Pierre Bourdieu and the Sociology of Culture: an Introduction", *Media, Culture and Society*, 1980, 3.
- GASSET, O Y, "The Dehumanisation of Art", in GASSET, *Velazquez, Goya, the Dehumanisation of Art and Other Essays*, Studio Vista, London, 1972.
- GIDDENS, A, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1971.
- GILMORE, M P, *The World of Humanism*, Harper & Row, New York, 1952.

- GIMPEL, R, *Diary of an Art Dealer*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1966.
- GIROUARD, M, *Life in the English Country House: A Social, and Architectural History*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1978.
- GOMBRICH, E H, "Achievements in Medieval Art" (1937), in GOMBRICH, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse*, Phaidon, Oxford, 1963.
- GOMBRICH, E H, "Visual Metaphors of Value in Art", in GOMBRICH, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse*, Phaidon, London, 1963.
- GOODMAN, N, *Languages of Art - An Approach to a Theory of Symbols*, Oxford University Press, London, 1969.
- GOODRICH, D L, *Art Fakes in America*, Viking Press, New York, 1973.
- GOWANS, A., *The Unchanging Arts*, Lippincott, Philadelphia and New York, 1971.
- GRANT, R, *A Survey of Visitors to the Scottish National Museums and Galleries*, Central Research Unit, Scottish Development Department, Edinburgh, 1981.
- GREENHALGH, M, *The Classical Tradition in Art*, Duckworth, London, 1978.
- GREENHALGH, M and MEGAW V (eds.), *Art in Society*, Duckworth, London, 1978.
- GUARDIAN, "Salvador Dali admits faking his own work", 15 March 1985.
- HADJINICOLAOU, N, *Art History and Class Struggle*, Pluto Press, London, 1978.
- HALE, J R, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, Arrow, London, 1963.
- HARPER, J R, *Cornelius Krieghoff*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1979.
- HASKELL, F, *Rediscoveries in Art - Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, Phaidon, London, 1976.
- HASKELL, F, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, (2nd ed) Yale University Press, New Haven, 1980.
- HASKELL, F, "The British as Collectors", in G Jackson-Stops (ed), *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, National Gallery of Art, Washington and Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1985.
- HASKELL, F, and PENNY, N, *Taste and the Antique - The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500 - 1900*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981.
- HAUSER, A, *The Philosophy of Art History*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1959.

- HAUSER, A, *The Social History of Art*, 4 vols., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962.
- HAUSER, A, *The Sociology of Art*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1982.
- HAY, D, *The Medieval Centuries*, Methuen, London, 1964.
- HAY, D, *The Italian Renaissance*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977.
- HAYWOOD, I, *Faking It: Art and the Politics of Forgery*, Harvester Press, Brighton, 1987.
- HELD, J, "The Early Appreciation of Drawings", in *Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art - Volume III: Latin American Art, and the Baroque Period in Europe*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1963.
- HENDERSON, G, *Gothic*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1967.
- HENDERSON, G, *Early Medieval*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972.
- HERRMANN, F, *The English as Collectors*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1972.
- HESS, H, *Pictures as Arguments*, Sussex University Press, London, 1975.
- HESS, H, "Art and Social Function", *Marxism Today*, August, 1976.
- HEXTER, J H, "The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance", in HEXTER, *Reappraisals in History*, Longmans, London, 1962.
- HEYDENRYK, H, *The Art and History of Frames*, Vane, London, 1964.
- HILL, G F, "The Nobleman and the Forger", *Burlington Magazine*, XII, 1907.
- HOLST, N von, *Creators, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1967.
- HOLT, E G (ed.) *A Documentary History of Art, Volume II - Michelangelo and the Mannerists, the Baroque and the Eighteenth Century*, Doubleday, New York, 1958.
- HOPE, C, "Artists, Patrons, and Advisers in the Italian Renaissance", in G F LYTLE and S ORGEL (eds.), *Patronage in the Renaissance*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1981.
- HORKHEIMER, M, and ADORNO, T W, *Dialectics of Enlightenment*, Allan Lane, Harmondsworth, 1973.
- HORKHEIMER, M, and ADORNO, T W, *Aspects of Sociology*, Heinemann, London, 1973.
- HOUGHTON, W E, "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3, 1942.

- HOVING, T, *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol.xxvi, no.6, Feb 1968.
- HOWARD, S, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi: Eighteenth Century Restorer*, Garland Publishing, New York, 1982.
- HUGHES, R, "On Art and Money", in *The New York Review of Books*, Dec. 6, 1984.
- HUIZINGA, J, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1924), Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1976.
- IRVING, C, *Fake - The Story of Elmyr de Hory, the Greatest Art Forger of Our Time*, Heinemann, London, 1970.
- ISRAEL, J, *Alienation from Marx to Modern Society*, Allyn & Bacon, Boston, 1971.
- JEPPSON, L, *Fabulous Frauds*, Arlington Books, London, 1971.
- JONI, J F, *Affairs of a Painter*, Faber & Faber, London, 1936.
- KAMEN, H, *The Iron Century: Social Change in Europe 1550-1660*, Cardinal, London, 1976.
- KEEN, G, *The Sale of Works of Art: A Study Based on the Times-Sotheby Index*, Nelson, London, 1971.
- KLEIN, R and ZERNER, H, *Italian Art 1500-1600: Sources and Documents*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1966.
- KNOWLES, J A, "Ancient Reproduction and Mass Production of Works of Art", *Connoisseur*, Nov. 1926.
- KOLAKOWSKI, L, *Main Currents of Marxism: vol.1 - The Founders*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1981.
- KRISTELLER, P O, "The Modern System of the Arts", in KRISTELLER, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts - Collected Essays*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1980. (Originally published in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol.XII (1951), no.4, and vol.XIII (1952) no.1.)
- KURZ, O, *Fakes*, Faber & Faber, London, 1948; 2nd ed, Dover, New York, 1967.
- KURZ, O, "Early Art Forgeries: From the Renaissance to the Eighteenth Century", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. CXXI, Jan. 1973.
- LAING, D, *The Marxist Theory of Art*, Harvester Press, Sussex, 1978.
- LANTIER, R, "The Barbarian Invasions and the Early Middle Ages", in R HUYGHE (ed), *Larousse Encyclopedia of Byzantine and Medieval Art*, Hamlyn, London, 1963.
- LARNER, J, *Culture and Society in Italy 1290-1420*, Batsford, London, 1971.

- LAYARD, A H, *Quarterly Review*, 102, 1857.
- LAYTON, R, *The Anthropology of Art*, Granada, London, 1981.
- LEE, R W, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*, Norton, New York, 1967.
- LEFEBRE, H, *The Sociology of Marx*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972.
- LESLIE, C R, *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable* (1845), Phaidon, London, 1951.
- LESSING, A, "What is Wrong with a Forgery?", in D DUTON (ed), *The Forger's Art - Forgery and the Philosophy of Art*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1983.
- LEVEY, M, *Early Renaissance*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1967.
- LEVEY, M, *High Renaissance*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1975.
- LEVEY, M, *The Painter Depicted: Painters as a Subject in Painting*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1981.
- LEVINE, L W, *Highbrow/Lowbrow - The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1988.
- LEVITINE, G, *The Dawn of Bohemianism*, Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, 1978.
- LIFSHITZ, M, *The Philosophy of Art of Karl Marx* (1933), Pluto Press, London, 1973.
- LIPPINCOTT, L, *Selling Art in Georgian London - The Rise of Arthur Pond*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1983.
- LOGAN, O, *Culture and Society in Venice 1470-1790*, Batsford, London.
- LOHR, S, "Theft and Fraud in Fine Art", *New York Times*, 22 March 1981.
- LOPEZ, R S, "Hard Times and Investment in Culture", in W FERGUSON (ed.), *The Renaissance: Six Essays*, Harper & Row, New York, 1962.
- LUKÁCS, G, *History and Class Consciousness* (1922), Merlin Press, London, 1971.
- MACK, G, *Gustave Courbet*, Hart-Davis, London, 1951.
- MACLEOD, D S, "Art Collecting and Victorian Middle-Class Taste", *Art History*, vol 10, no 3, Sept 1987.
- MALAND, D, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-Century France*, Batsford, London, 1970.

- MÂLE, E, *The Gothic Image - Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century* (1910), Fontana, London and Glasgow, 1961.
- MALRAUX, A, *The Voices of Silence* (1953), Paladin, St. Albans, 1974.
- MANCINI, G, *Considerazioni Sulla Pittura* (c.1620), Rome, 1956.
- MANNHEIM, K, *Essays in the Sociology of Culture*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1956.
- MARCUSE, H, *The Aesthetic Dimension*, Macmillan, London, 1979.
- MARIJUISSEN, R H, *Paintings: Genuine, Fraud, Fake - Modern Methods of Examining Paintings*, Elsevier, Brussels, 1985.
- MARTIN, A von, *Sociology of the Renaissance* (1932), Harper & Row, New York, 1963.
- MARTINDALE, A, *Man and the Renaissance*, Hamlyn, London, 1966.
- MARTINDALE, A, *Gothic Art*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1967.
- MARTINDALE, A, *The Rise of the Artist*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1972.
- MARTINES, L, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy*, Allen Lane, London, 1980.
- MARX, K, *Grundrisse*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1973.
- MARX, K, and ENGELS, F, *On Literature and Art*, (ed. by L BAXANDALL and S MORAWSKI), International General, New York, 1973.
- MASKELL, A, "Forgeries and Imitations of Works of Art", *The Art Journal*, 1906.
- MATHEW, G, *Byzantine Aesthetics*, John Murray, London, 1963.
- MEILAND, J W, "Originals, Copies, and Aesthetic Value", in D DUTTON (ed.), *The Forger's Art - Forgery and the Philosophy of Art*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1983.
- MENZ, H, *The Dresden Gallery*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1962.
- MÉSZÁROS, I, *Marx's Theory of Alienation*, 4th ed., Merlin Press, London, 1975.
- MINNEAPOLIS INSTITUTE OF ART, *Fakes and Forgeries* (exhibition catalogue), 1973.
- MOIR, A, *Caravaggio and his Copyists*, New York University Press, New York, 1976.
- MONTIAS, J M, *Artists and Artisans in Delft - A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1982.

- MONTIAS, J M, "Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art", *Art History*, vol.10, no.4, December 1987.
- MORAWSKI, S, *Inquiries into the Fundamentals of Aesthetics*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1974.
- MORIARTY, M, *Taste and Ideology in Seventeenth Century France*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988.
- MUKAŘOVSKÝ, J, *Aesthetic Function, Norm and Value as Social Facts* (1936), University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1970.
- NOBILI, R, *The Gentle Art of Faking*, Seeley Service, London, 1922.
- NORMAN, G, with NORMAN, F, and KEATING, T, *The Fake's Progress*, Arrow, London, 1978.
- OBSERVER, "Who will inherit Dali's fortune?", 14 October 1984.
- OBSERVER, "When is a fake not a fake?", 11 August 1985.
- ONIAN, J, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age - The Greek World View 350-50 BC*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1979,.
- OPPÉ, A P, "Art", in G M YOUNG (ed), *Early Victorian England 1830-65*, Oxford University Press, London, 1934.
- PANOFSKY, E, "History of Art as a Humanist Discipline" (1940), reprinted in PANOFSKY, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1970.
- PANOFSKY, E, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art", in PANOFSKY, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1970
- PANOFSKY, E, "Renaissance and Renascences", in PANOFSKY, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, Paladin, London, 1970.
- PEARS, D, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988.
- PELLES, G, "The Image of the Artist", *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 1962.
- PELLES, G, *Art, Artist and Society*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1963.
- PEVSNER, N, *Academies of Art Past and Present*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1940.
- POLLITT, J J, *The Ancient View of Greek Art: Criticism, History, and Terminology*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1974.
- POPE-HENNESSY, J, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the V & A Museum*, London, 1964.

- POPE-HENNESSY, J, "The Forging of Italian Renaissance Sculpture", *Apollo*, 146, 1974.
- PRAWNER, S S, *Karl Marx and World Literature*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978.
- PRICE, J L, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic During the Seventeenth Century*, BatSford, London, 1974.
- PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, The Art Museum, *Problems of Authenticity in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Art* (exhibition catalogue), Princeton, 1973.
- RADER, M, *Marx's Interpretation of History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1979.
- RAVETZ, J R, *Scientific Knowledge and its Social Problems*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971.
- REDFORD, G, *Art Sales - A History of Sales of Pictures and Other Works of Art*, 2 vols (issued only to subscribers), London, 1888.
- REDGRAVE, R, and REDGRAVE, S, *A Century of British Painting (1866)*, Phaidon, London, 1947.
- REISS, S, *Aelbert Cuyp*, Zwemmer, London, 1975.
- REITLINGER, G, *The Economics of Taste - The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices 1760-1960*, Barrie & Rockliff, London, 1961.
- REWALD, J, "Modern Fakes of Modern Pictures", *Art News*, 51, March 1953.
- RHEIMS, M, *Art on the Market*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1961.
- RHIND, A H *Thebes: its Tombs and Their Tenants Ancient and Present*, Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, London, 1862.
- RIGBY, D, and RIGBY, E, *Lock, Stock and Barrel - The Story of Collecting*, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1944.
- ROSENBERG, H, "Art Books, Book Art, Art", *Partisan Review*, 1960.
- ROSENBERG J, SLIVE, S, and KUILE, E H ter, *Dutch Art and Architecture: 1600 to 1800*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1977.
- ROUQUET, M, *The Present State of the Arts in England*, London, 1755.
- ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS, *The Golden Age of Spanish Painting*, Introduction by N Glendinning, London, 1976.
- RUNCIMAN, S, *Byzantine Style and Civilisation*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1975.
- RUSH, R H, *Art as an Investment*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1961.

- RUSH, R H, *Antiques as an Investment*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968.
- SAISSELIN, R., *Bricabracomania - The Bourgeois and the Bibelot*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1985.
- SALERNO, L, "The Modern and Contemporary Art Market", in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, McGraw-Hill, London, 1961.
- SALERNO, L, "Museums and Collections", in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, McGraw-Hill, London, 1961.
- SCHAPIRO, M, "Style", in A L KROEBER (ed), *Anthropology Today*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1953.
- SCHAPIRO, M, *Romanesque Art*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1977.
- SCHÜCKING, L, *The Sociology of Literary Taste*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London, 1944.
- SCHÜLLER, S, *Forgers, Dealers, Experts*, Barker, London, 1960.
- SHEARMAN, J, *Mannerism*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1967.
- SIMMEL, G, "Fashion" (1904), *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXII, May 1957.
- SIMMEL, G, *The Conflict of Modern Culture and Other Essays*, Teachers College Press, New York, 1968.
- SIZER, T, "Col. John Trumbull's Works - A Final Report", *The Art Bulletin*, 38, 1956.
- SMITH, J, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, London, 1829.
- SMITH, J T, *Nollekens and His Times*, 2nd ed., Henry Colburn, London, 1829.
- SNYDER, J (ed.), *Bosch in Perspective*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1973.
- STECHOW, W, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, Phaidon, Oxford, 1966.
- STEEGMAN, J, *Rule of Taste - From George I to George IV*, Macmillan, London, 1936.
- STEEGMAN, J, *Victorian Taste* (1950), Nelson, London, 1970.
- STONE, L, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965.
- STRONG, D E, *The Classical World*, Hamlyn, London, 1965.
- SUNDAY TIMES, "How to make pots of money in prison", 18 January 1981.

SUNDAY TIMES, "'Bogus paintings' row grows round Dali bed", 9 September 1984.

SWEEZY, P, "A Critique", in R HILTON (ed), *The Transition From Feudalism To Capitalism*, New Left Books, London, 1976.

TAKAHASHIK, T, "A contribution to the Discussion", in R HILTON (ed), *The Transition From Feudalism To Capitalism*, New Left Books, London, 1976.

TATE GALLERY, *Constable - Paintings, Watercolours and Drawings*, London, 1976.

TAWNEY, R H, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926), Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1977.

TAYLOR, F H, *The Taste of Angels - A History of Art Collecting From Rameses to Napoleon*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1948.

TAYLOR, J R, and BROOKE, B, *The Art Dealers*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1969.

THOMSON, E P, "Patrician Society, Plebian Culture", *Journal of Social History*, 1973-74.

TIETZE, H, "The Psychology and Aesthetics of Forgery in Art", *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, 1934-36.

TIETZE, H, *Genuine and False*, Parrish, London, 1948.

TILLYARD, E M W, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1943), Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1963.

TOCQUEVILLE, A de, *Democracy in America*, Saunders and Otley, London, 1840.

TREVOR-ROPER, H, *Princes and Artists - Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts 1517-1633*, Harper & Row, New York, 1976.

TREVOR-ROPER, H, *The Plunder of the Arts in the Seventeenth Century*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1970.

ULLMANN, W, *A History of Political Thought: The Middle Ages*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1965.

VASARI, G, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (2nd ed. 1567), Dent, London, 1963.

VÁZQUEZ, A S, , *Art and Society: Essays in Marxist Aesthetics*, Merlin Press, London, 1973.

VEBLEN, T, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), Mentor, New York, 1953.

VINCI, L da, *Treatise on Painting*, translated by A P McMahon, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1956.

- WACKERNAGEL, W, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist* (1938), Princeton University Press, Princeton, trans. 1981.
- WALLACE, W, *Connoisseur*, XII 186, July 1905.
- WATSON, P, *Double Dealer*, Hutchinson, London, 1983.
- WETHEY, H E, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol.1 - *The Religious Paintings*, Phaidon, London, 1969.
- WHINNEY, M, and MILLAR, O, *English Art 1625-1714*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1957.
- WHITE, H C, and WHITE, C A, *Canvases and Careers - Institutional Change in the French Painting World*, Wiley, New York, 1965.
- WHITLEY, W T, *Artists and their Friends in England 1700-1799*, London, 1928.
- WILLIAMS, R, *Keywords*, Fontana, Glasgow, 1976.
- WILLIAMS, R, *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1977.
- WILLIAMS, R, *Culture*, Fontana, Glasgow, 1981.
- WILLIAMS, R, "Culture", in D McLELLAN (ed.), *Marx: the First Hundred Years*, Fontana, Glasgow, 1983.
- WIND, E, *Art and Anarchy*, Faber & Faber, London, 1963.
- WINSTANLEY, T, *Observation on the Arts*, London, 1828.
- WITTKOWER, R, "Individualism in Art and Artists: A Renaissance Problem", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol.XXII, no.3, 1961.
- WITTKOWER, R, "The Artist", in J L CLIFFORD, (ed), *Man Versus Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1968.
- WITTKOWER, R, and WITTKOWER, M, *Born Under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists*, Norton, New York, 1969.
- WOLLHEIM, R, *Art and its Objects*, 2nd ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1980.
- WOOLF, J, *Hermeneutic Philosophy and the Sociology of Art*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1975.
- WOOLF, J, *The Social Production of Art*, Macmillan, London, 1981.
- WOOLF, J, *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1983.
- WRAIGHT, R, *The Art Game Again!*, Leslie Frewin, London, 1975.
- WÜRTENBERGER, T, *Das Kunstfälschertum*, Böhlau, Weimar, 1940.

WÜRTENBERGER, T, "Criminological and Criminal-Law Problems of the Forging of Paintings", in H van de WAAL, T WÜRTENBERGER and W FROENTJES, *Aspects of Art Forgery*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1962.

YUTANG, L, *The Chinese Theory of Art - Translations from the Masters of Chinese Art*, Heinemann, London, 1967.

ZELDIN, T, *France 1848-1945: Taste and Corruption*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1980.

